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A

CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL

ELUCIDATION

OF THE

MORNING AND EVENING

PRAYER

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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BY JOHN SHEPHERD, M. A.

LATE OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,

CURATE OF PADDINGTON.

LIB OF BOM BRAN OF TH ROYAL ASIATIC

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND IMPROVED.

Turpe eſt viro id, in quo quotidie verſatur, ignorare. DURAND.

We ſhould be very ſolicitous rightly to apprehend the ſcope and fitneſs of what we ſay and do in God's Worſhip. ABP. SECKER.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND

DR. BEILBY PORTEUS,

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

THE

SECOND EDITION

OF A

CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL

ELUCIDATION

OF THE

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

IS

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

OF THE ORIGIN, AND PROGRESSIVE FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH LITURGY.

THE excellence of our Liturgy in general, and in particular that its forms are equally removed from ſuperſtition and laxity, is generally confeſſed. For this moderation, to which it owes no ſmall ſhare of its praiſe, we are principally indebted to the *Reformation*: the firſt ſeeds of which were ſown by our countryman Wickliffe, in the reign of Edward III. Wickliffe ſaw and expoſed the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome; yet little was done by his followers, in this country at leaſt, towards a reform of abuſes, till the reign of Henry VIII., whoſe diſpute with the Roman Pontiff, it is well known, terminated in his ſeparation from the papal juriſdiction. No ſooner was the ſupremacy of the Pope diſclaimed, than the friends of reformation, at the head of whom were CRANMER, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and CROMWELL, the King's Secretary, began to take meaſures for its eſtabliſhment.

There had been publiſhed in Engliſh, a ſmall treatiſe, containing inſtructions and devotions, well adapted to remove the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the age *. This little volume was afterward entitled *The King's Primer*, either to give

* A great variety of little tracts on the ſubject of religion were either printed in England, or imported from the Continent, between the years 1525 and 1532. The induſtry and hazard with which they were diſſeminated, and the avidity with which they were read, almoſt exceed belief. Among thoſe that ventured their lives by the importation of prohibited books, I ſhall notice only *Bayfield*, who had been a

give it the greater ſanction, or from its being re-publiſhed by royal authority, or, what is moſt probable, from the King's compoſing, or altering ſome part of it.

At what period the *Primer* was firſt publiſhed, I have not been able to aſcertain. In the liſt of books diſallowed by royal proclamation in 1529, that is, about ſix years before the papal ſupremacy was transferred to the King, "the Primer in Engliſh" is mentioned; and I ſuſpect that it might have been in circulation, about two, or perhaps nearly three years. Had the *Primer* been publicly known in 1526, the time, as far as I have diſcovered, when books written againſt Popiſh innovations were firſt ordered to be ſuppreſſed, it is not likely that ſo offenſive a book, as the Primer in Engliſh, would have been left unnoticed *.

In 1535, the year in which the Pope excommunicated Henry, with his adherents, and affected to deprive the monarch of his crown, appeared an edition of the *King's Primer* in quarto, with conſiderable alterations and additions. In this book are various tracts †, which ſeem to have been written by different authors, and were now probably firſt collected into one volume. Collier affirms, that the whole was drawn

monk of St. Edmund's Bury. In 1530, he landed two cargoes of tracts; one at London, and the other in Eſſex; and, in 1531, a third in Norfolk, for which he was ſoon after burnt at Smithfield. In 1529, by one ſingle proclamation, beſide a variety of Engliſh books, upwards of *eighty* Latin treatiſes were prohibited. Theſe had principally been written by *Wickliffe*, *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, *Melanchthon*, and other divines, chiefly natives of Germany. In the proclamation they are entitled, *Libri ſectæ ſive factionis Lutherianæ*; *Books of the Lutheran faction, or ſect.*

* The titles of the books prohibited in 1526, may be found in *Fox*, *Acts*, &c. p. 928; and in *Strype*, *Mem.* Vol. I. p. 165.

† Several of the tracts now admitted into the larger Primers, have the ſame titles with thoſe that were interdicted a few years before, and I ſuſpect the tracts were the ſame. For inſtance, the *dialogue between father and ſon*, forbidden in 1526, ſanctioned by the King's Primer of 1535, and declared in 1542 to be *heretical*, was, I apprehend, one and the ſame tract.

up

up by a ſingle hand, but he reſts his proof upon the evidence ariſing from the "admonition to the reader." This, no doubt, was either written, or adopted by the editor of the volume, Dr. Marſhall. Again there appears to me intrinſic proof that all the tracts were not the production of the ſame pen. One, for inſtance, blends according to the old *Romiſh* mode, the firſt commandment with the ſecond, whilſt another makes a clear diſtinction between them. Strype thinks the Archbiſhop compoſed ſome of the tracts, and reviſed others *; and his opinion is probably right.

Of the contents of a book ſo remarkable, and at the ſame time ſo little known, as the Primer is, it may at leaſt gratify curioſity to ſee a brief enumeration, or abſtract.

The larger editions, after the *admonition to the reader* and the *preface*, begin with *an expoſition of the commandments*, another of *the creed*, and *a confeſſion*, wherein all are directed to examine their lives by the rules of the commandments. Theſe are followed by two pious, and judicious tracts, entitled *Directions concerning Prayer*, and *an Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer*; a caution concerning the uſe of *Ave Maria*, or the angel's ſalutation; with *a Prayer to our Creator*,—*Prayers for Biſhops and Rulers*, *for Huſbands and Wives*, &c. or *an office for all ſtates*,—a tract *on good works*,—*and an exhortation to expect the croſs*, *and to bear it patiently*. Then follow *mattins*, *lauds*, *evenſong*, &c. After theſe ſtand *the ſeven penitential pſalms*, and *the Litany*, different copies of which, in different editions, vary almoſt as much from each other, as ſome of them do from our preſent form. After the Litany is *a contemplation on pſalm* LI.; *a Prayer to our Saviour*; *the Hiſtory of Chriſt's paſſion taken from the Goſpels*, and divided into ten ſections; *a practical diſcourſe on the paſſion*; *inſtructions for children*; *a catechetical dialogue between a father and ſon*; *prayers againſt blindneſs and hardneſs of heart*: ſeveral *prayers* and *thankſgivings* from Scripture, and the

* Mem. Vol. I. p. 217.

Dirige, or office for the ſouls of the dead, with a preface prefixed, which inveighs againſt the practice of miſapplying to the dead, paſſages uſed by the living to excite the compaſſion of friends. "We have rung and ſung, mumbled and murmured, and piteouſly pewled a certain ſort of pſalms, which make no more for the purpoſe than *Te Deum*, or *Gloria in excelſis*. In the *Dirige*, there is nothing taken out of Scripture that makes any more mention of ſouls departed than doth the tale of *Robin Hood* *." Then follow *commendations*, &c. In ſome copies the Collects, Epiſtles and Goſpels throughout the year are added, and in others expoſitions of them. In the ſmaller volumes, many of the articles already enumerated are omitted. But in both the ſmaller and larger editions, ſeveral of the tracts, interſperſed among the prayers, and devotional offices, and in particular, the Preface, or Admonition to the Reader, with the Dialogue, are directly levelled againſt abuſes and ſuperſtitions, which then prevailed †.

The publication of the Primer then was one of the firſt ſteps towards the reformation of doctrine and worſhip: and the great variety of editions, through which it paſſed in a very few years, is a clear proof that a very unuſual number of copies muſt have been diſſeminated through the kingdom ‡. When we further recollect that the royal authority, which at this time prohibited the reading of the Engliſh Bible, and

* Preface to the Dirige.

† After the fall of Cromwell, ſome of theſe treatiſes were *interdicted*, and even deemed *heretical*. See Bonner's Injunctions of 1542, and Strype's Mem. in 1535.

‡ The Popiſh party appear to have been no leſs active in diſperſing Primers favourable to their cauſe. The King's *Injunction* of May 6, 1546, authoriſing a Primer printed by Grafton in the ſame year, mentions "the *adverſity* (oppoſition) of Primer books now abroad, whereof are almoſt innumerable ſorts;" and commands "one uniform order to be taught to children, and uſed for ordinary prayers by all, that were not learned in the Latin tongue."

many

many devotional books *, repeatedly enjoined the daily uſe of the King's Primer, either in public, or private, we may reaſonably conclude that the book was very popular, and extremely beneficial to the cauſe of Reformation.

In the year following, that is, in 1536, *Articles of Religion* were agreed upon in convocation †, and ordered by the king to be publiſhed. From the royal Declaration prefixed, we learn that the deſign of the Articles was to *prevent diverſity of opinion both in matters of faith and worſhip, and to eſtabliſh unity and concord in the church of England.* By theſe articles, the Holy Scriptures, and the three Creeds, are conſtituted the ſtandard of faith and doctrine. The foundation of Chriſtian belief, and the terms of the covenant of grace, are ſtated, and explained. Out of the ſeven Romiſh Sacraments, of four no notice whatever is taken. Baptiſm, Penance, and the Euchariſt, are the only three mentioned. The direct worſhip of Saints and Angels, or the "honouring them with the honour due only unto God," is expreſsly prohibited, yet the "praying to them to pray for us, and with us," is declared to be "very laudable." Abuſes concerning images ‡, and the doctrine of purgatory, are corrected, and the reaſon of obſerving various rites and ceremonies ‡, is explained. But though many of the errors of Popery

* The *Proclamation* iſſued in 1535, calling in *ſeditious books*, was principally meant to ſuppreſs *Popiſh* books of devotion, and ſuch as favoured the pretenſions of the Biſhop of Rome. Strype's Mem. Vol. I. p. 221.

† In the convocation held this year, the clergy likewiſe drew up a petition, which was preſented to the king, praying, "that he would graciouſly indulge unto his ſubjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the Engliſh tongue, and that a new tranſlation may be made for the purpoſe." Heylin, Church of England juſtified.

‡ The article relating to Images, and that to Rites and Ceremonies, are as follows.—

"OF IMAGES.

"As touching images, truth it is, that the ſame have been ſaid in the *Old Teſtament*, for the great abuſes of them to have been ſome time

Popery are thus corrected, the *old* notions, concerning auricular confeſſion, ſacerdotal abſolution, or the power of the prieſt

deſtroyed and put down; and, in the *New Teſtament*, they have been alſo allowed, as good authors do declare; wherefore we will, that all biſhops and preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed *by us* unto their ſpiritual charge, how they ought and may uſe them; and firſt, that there may be attributed unto them, that they be repreſenters of virtue and good example; and that they alſo be, by occaſion, the kindlers and ſtirrers of mens' minds, and make men oft to remember and lament their ſins and offences; eſpecially the Images of *Chriſt* and our *Lady*; and that therefore it is meet they ſhould ſtand in the churches, and none otherwiſe to be eſteemed: and to the intent the rude people ſhould not from henceforth take ſuch ſuperſtition, as in time paſt it is thought that the ſame hath uſed to do; we will, that our biſhops and preachers diligently ſhall teach them, and, according to this doctrine, reform their abuſes, for elſe there might fortune idolatry to enſue; which God forbid: and as for incenſing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worſhippings; although the ſame hath entered by devotion, and fallen into cuſtom; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no wiſe do it, nor think it meet to be done, to the ſame Images, but only to be done to God and his honour: although it be done before the Images, whether it be of *Chriſt*, of the *Croſs*, or of our *Lady*, or of any other *Saint* beſide."

"OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

"As concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of *Chriſt*'s church, as to have ſuch veſtments in doing God's ſervice, as be and have been moſt part uſed: as ſprinkling of holy water, to put us in remembrance of our baptiſm, and of the blood of *Chriſt*, ſprinkled for our redemption upon the croſs; giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the ſacrament of the altar; that all chriſtened men be one body myſtical of *Chriſt*, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf; and to put us in remembrance of our receiving of the holy ſacrament and body of *Chriſt*, the which we ought to receive in right charity; which, in the beginning of *Chriſt*'s church, men did more often *receive* than they uſe now a days to do: bearing of candles on *Candlemas-day*, in memory of *Chriſt*, the ſpiritual light; of whom *Simeon* did propheſy, as is read in the church that day: giving of aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, to put in remembrance every chriſtian man, in the beginning of *Lent* and *Penance*, that he is but earth and aſhes, and thereto ſhall return, which is right neceſſary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother tongue,

prieſt to abſolve, the corporal preſence, and ſome other points of inferior importance are retained *.

The noble author † of the Life of Henry VIII. affirms, that from ſome records it would appear, that the articles were deviſed by Henry himſelf, and that Cromwell afterward recommended them to the Convocation. But it is more probable that Cranmer was employed in drawing them up, for ſome of them are evidently written in Cranmer's manner. To confirm poſitions laid down in the Articles, *reaſons* are given, and quotations from Scripture are occaſionally added. The practice of confirming, or confuting religious opinions by texts of Scripture, inſtead of bringing quotations from ſchoolmen, and popiſh canons, was principally introduced, into England at leaſt, by Cranmer ‡. In his letters to Henry, in his ſpeech at the opening of the Convocation under Edward, in his diſputations with the biſhop of Wincheſter, and on many other occaſions, we find him inſiſting on the

tongue, always on the ſame day: bearing of *palms* on *Palm-Sunday*, in memory of receiving of *Chriſt* into *Jeruſalem*, a little before his death, that we have the ſame deſire to receive him in our hearts: creeping to the croſs, and humbling ourſelves to *Chriſt* on *Good-Friday*, before the croſs; and offering there unto *Chriſt* before the ſame, and kiſſing of it in memory of our redemption, by *Chriſt* made upon the croſs: ſetting up of the ſepulchre of *Chriſt*, whoſe body, after his death, was buried: the hallowing of the *font*, and other like benedictions by the miniſters of *Chriſt*'s church; and all other like laudable cuſtoms, rites and ceremonies, be not to be condemned and caſt away, but to be uſed and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of thoſe ſpiritual things that they do ſignify; not ſuffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion; but renewing them in our memories, from time to time: but none of theſe ceremonies hath power to remit ſins, but only to ſtir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our ſins be forgiven."

* Of theſe Articles of Religion, copious abſtracts are given in Strype's Cranmer, b. I. c. XI. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 215. See alſo Fuller, b. V. and Collier, Vol. II. p. 122.

† Lord Herbert.

‡ Strype's Cranmer.

neceſſity of keeping cloſe to the rules and doctrines delivered in the Scriptures*. His ſentiments on the propriety of aſſigning reaſons for neceſſary alterations will appear from what he ſuggeſts in reply to a letter from the king, relating to the abolition of ſome ſuperſtitious uſages. Of the letter, and part of the reply, I ſhall in the notes give an extract in the words of the reſpective writers, after deſiring the reader to remember, that they were compoſed A. D. 1545 †.

Soon

* Collier, and Archbiſhop Parker's Brit. Antiq.

† Henry writes to the Archbiſhop, "Foraſmuch as you, as well in your own name, and in the name of the biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, and other our chaplains and learned men, whom we appointed with you to peruſe certain *books of ſervice*, which we delivered unto you; moved us that the *Vigil*, and ringing of bells all the night long upon *All-hallow* day at night, and the covering of images in the churches, in the time of *Lent*; with the lifting up of the veil that covereth the croſs upon *Palm-Sunday*, with the kneeling to the croſs the ſame time, might be aboliſhed, and put away for the ſuperſtition, and other enormities and abuſes of the ſame. Firſt, foraſmuch as all the *Vigils* of our Lady, and the Apoſtles, and all other *Vigils*, which in the beginning of the church were godly uſed; yet for the manifold ſuperſtition and abuſes which afterwards did grow by means of the ſame, they be many years paſt taken away, throughout all *Chriſtendom*; and there remaineth nothing but the name of *Vigil* in the *Calendar*; the thing clearly aboliſhed and put away, ſaving only upon *All-hallow* day at night, upon which night is kept *Vigil*; watching and ringing of bells all night long. Foraſmuch as that *Vigil* is abuſed, as other *Vigils* were; our pleaſure is as you require, that the ſaid *Vigil* ſhall be aboliſhed as the other be, and that there ſhall be no watching or ringing but as be commonly uſed upon other holy days at night. We be contented and pleaſed alſo, that the images in the churches ſhall not be covered, as hath been accuſtomed in times paſt, nor no veil upon the croſs, nor kneeling thereto upon *Palm-Sunday*, nor any other time. And foraſmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the croſs, which is a greater abuſe than any other, for there you ſay, *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine*, and the Ordinal ſaith, *procedant clerici ad crucem adorandam nudis pedibus*; and after followeth, in the ſame Ordinal, *ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur*: which, by your own *book*, called a *neceſſary doctrine*, is againſt the *ſecond commandment*. Therefore our pleaſure is, that the ſaid creeping to the croſs ſhall likewiſe

ceaſe

Soon after the publication of the *Articles*, in 1636, *Injunctions* were ſet forth, which, as well as the Injunctions afterward promulgated from time to time, require all perſons to adhere to the *Book of Articles*: and the univerſal clamour raiſed among the Papiſts againſt theſe Articles, ſhews, that the eſtabliſhment of them was apprehended to be an important acquiſition to the cauſe of the Reformation.

If in the Book of Articles, as well as in the Primers, we ſometimes find Popiſh errors, intermixed with the genuine doctrines of Scripture, we ſhould recollect that theſe errors were not of a nature to be corrected in a moment. The darkneſs ariſing from the united power of *Superſtition* and *Ignorance*, required not only a morning, but a meridian ſun to diſpel it. Though Cranmer, and a few others, might diſcern the enormous growth of the tares among the wheat, they likewiſe ſaw that the harveſt of the reformation was

ceaſe from henceforth, and be aboliſhed, with other the abuſes before rehearſed: and this we will and ſtraitly command you to ſignify to all the prelates and biſhops of your province of *Canterbury*; charging them in our name to ſee the ſame executed, every one in his dioceſe accordingly."

To make this order practicable, and rightly underſtood, Cranmer obſerved to the King;

"Nevertheleſs, in my opinion, when ſuch things be altered or taken away, there ſhould be ſet forth ſome doctrine therewith, which ſhould declare the cauſe of the aboliſhings or alterations, for to ſatisfy the conſciences of your people: for if the honouring of the croſs, as creeping and kneeling thereto, be taken away, it ſhall ſeem to many that be ignorant, that the honour of Chriſt is taken away, unleſs ſome good teaching be ſet forth withal to inſtruct them ſufficiently therein; which if your Majeſty command the biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, with other your Grace's other chaplains to make, the people ſhall obey your Majeſty's commandment willingly, giving thanks to your Majeſty if they know the truth, which elſe they would obey with murmurations and grudgings. And it ſhall be a ſatisfaction to all other nations, when they ſhall ſee your Majeſty do nothing but by the authority of God's word, and to the ſetting forth of God's honour, and not the diminiſhing thereof, &c."

not

not fully ripe; the proper ſeaſon was not yet come "for gathering the tares, and binding them in bundles to burn them *."

The *Injunctions* publiſhed in 1536, which I have already ſlightly noticed, were, as well as the *Primers* and *Articles*, extremely favourable to the intereſts of the reformers. Theſe Injunctions, though probably compoſed by CRANMER, were publiſhed in the King's name by CROMWELL, who, ſince *Henry*'s being declared *ſupreme head of the church*, had been appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the King's Vicar-general, or Vicegerent, in all eccleſiaſtical affairs. The Injunctions require "the clergy frequently to publiſh to the people that the power of the Biſhop of Rome is uſurped; and has no foundation either in the word of God, or the law of the land. The clergy are to declare the *Articles* lately publiſhed, and to explain which are articles of faith, and which relate to ceremonies and eccleſiaſtical polity. They are not to extol images or relics for gain, but to teach the people to keep God's commandments. Inſtead of recommending pilgrimages, they were to inform the people that they ſerved God more acceptably by attending to the proper buſineſs of their reſpective ſtations; and that the money ſpent in pilgrimages would be better employed in charity to the poor.—They were to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, and further, to inſtruct them in the principles of religion. The incumbents of the greater livings were required, for every hundred pounds a year they received, to give an exhibition to a poor ſcholar, either at a grammar-ſchool, or the univerſity: and all were obliged to appropriate a fifth part of their annual income, where ſo large a proportion was neceſſary, to the repair of their parſonage, or vicarage houſes, and afterwards to keep them in a decent ſtate of repair. In particular, the

* Matt. xiii. 3.

clergy

clergy themſelves were to be diligent in teaching the people: not to frequent games and public houſes unneceſſarily; but to apply to the ſtudy of Holy Scripture; to frame their lives accordingly, and to be examples to others to live well *."

Theſe are the principal heads of the Injunctions, the whole of which gave great offence to a corrupt clergy, and to many of the laity attached to the *ancient* religion. The Injunction laſt mentioned increaſed the labours of the ſecular clergy, and impoſed thoſe decent reſtraints, which few of them had been accuſtomed to obſerve. One Injunction burthened them with additional expences, which however their lawful revenues enabled them eaſily to ſupply, whilſt another, by aboliſhing a lucrative branch of eccleſiaſtical commerce, cut off a very fertile ſource of their opulence. The Injunctions concerning relics, pilgrimages, and the education of young perſons in the principles of Chriſtianity, ordained that as a duty, for which, as a crime, proteſtants had lately been puniſhed with death, unleſs they purchaſed a pardon by recantation, or at leaſt by ſilence †. Hence the king, who profeſſed to maintain the *old* religion, was ſuſpected of heretical innovation. The abolition of the ſmaller monaſteries had already alienated the affections of a great part of the *regular* clergy. In their outcries againſt the government, they

* The preamble ſhews, that theſe injunctions were addreſſed to *deans*, *parſons*, *vicars*, &c. Cromwell, as vicegerent, was inveſted by delegation with the King's whole power in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and of courſe with authority over the biſhops. Yet, probably out of reſpect for their order, he here exerciſes no act of vicegerency over them.

† Bur. P. 1. b. iii. p. 226. Perhaps the puniſhment inflicted on the *Lollards* was not entirely in conſequence of the practices and opinions here enumerated. Some of them maintained, that allegiance and obedience might and ought to be withdrawn from the king, or ſupreme magiſtrate, under circumſtances, which it is not neceſſary to particularize. It is enough to ſay, that ſome of the Lollards appear to have ſupported poſitions, which no civil government whatever, regardful of its own ſafety, can allow to be propagated with impunity. *Lollards*, *Wickliffites*, *Huſſites*, *Bohemian* Brethren, &c., are titles, by which *proteſtants* were generally meant.

were

were now joined by a numerous body of the *ſecular* clergy, or parochial prieſts: and both parties, who were ready enough to admit Henry's ſupremacy, when it was exerciſed in their own favour, complained that the Injunctions were not ſanctioned by the Convocation: for it is, indeed, worthy of obſervation, that the promulgating of theſe Injunctions, was the firſt act of pure ſupremacy, which the king had exerciſed. The ſuperior abbots, likewiſe, from the fate of the ſmaller monaſteries, foreſeeing that their own eſtabliſhments and immunities might hereafter be invaded, ſounded the alarm, though leſs openly, and the credulous multitude were led to believe, that "it was better to live under the Turk than the King's Vicegerent." In ſhort, the King's Injunctions *, and CROMWELL's activity in promoting the reformation, and ſuppreſſing the monaſteries, gave riſe this year to three rebellions, all of which were principally fomented by the clergy attached to the ancient ſuperſtition. In the firſt, a Prior of Barkings in Lincolnſhire, diſguiſed as a cobler †, and conducted by a monk, contrived to raiſe a tumultuary army of 20,000 men ‡.

In the Convocation held this year, a vote was paſſed, through the influence of Cranmer, Latimer, and ſome other biſhops who were ſuppoſed to deliver the ſentiments of the King, for publiſhing a new tranſlation of the Scriptures. This was thought an important victory gained by the reformers.

The next year, 1537 §, the Archbiſhop, with Latimer, and the commiſſioners, compiled another ſhort treatiſe, which

* The ſecular prieſts, according to *Hume*, found themſelves reduced, by the Injunctions, to *a grievous ſervitude*. By what article of the Injunctions were they ſo reduced?

† His real name was Dr. Mackerel: the title of *Captain Cobler* was aſſumed on the occaſion.

‡ Fuller, Burnet, Collier, Strype, Heylin, Hume.

§ This is the date generally aſcribed to the *inſtitution*. Collier, however, who cites no authority, ſays it was *publiſhed* this year, but was drawn up *three years before*, and in *convocation*. In theſe two laſt aſſertions, he is probably miſtaken.

was afterwards reviewed by the King *, and ratified by parliament. This was the celebrated "Biſhop's Book †," or "the godly and pious inſtitution of a Chriſtian man." It was deſigned as a rule of religious belief, and morals; as a guide both to the clergy and people. It contained an expoſition of the *Creed*, the *ſeven Sacraments*, the *ten Commandments*, the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Ave Maria*, with a diſcourſe on *Juſtification*, and another on *Purgatory*. Theſe ſubjects are treated at very conſiderable length, and in a mode extremely different from what had been uſed under the ancient ſuperſtition. In particular, the expoſition of the Lord's Prayer is excellent in itſelf, and unexceptionable in point of doctrine. The ſame may be ſaid in general of the expoſition of the Creed, on every article of which there is a copious paraphraſe, with practical inferences ſubjoined. Biſhop Burnet, ſpeaking of this explanation of the Creed, declares "he muſt acknowledge, that after all the practical books which in his day had been written, he found great edification in reading that over and over again." What the biſhop has further remarked of the ſtyle of the expoſition of the Creed, is in general true of all the other tracts of the inſtitution, "it is ſtrong, nervous, and well fitted for the weakeſt capacities ‡."

* Henry, at his leiſure, corrected and augmented it; and ſubmitted his animadverſions to Cranmer's judgment. The Archbiſhop made annotations on ſuch of the royal corrections as he thought improper, eſpecially where the King's alterations were favourable to the old corruptions. In his letter to Cromwell, which accompanied his remarks, he ſays, "I truſt the King's Highneſs will pardon my preſumption that I have been ſo ſcrupulous, making a great matter of every little fault, or rather where there is no fault at all. Which I do that becauſe the book will be ſet forth by his Grace's judgment, I would have nothing therein that *Momus* could reprehend. In divers places I have made annotations, which places nevertheleſs I diſlike not." Strype's Cran.

† The commiſſioners who compoſed it were principally *Biſhops*.

‡ Vol. I. p. 288.

As

As copies of the inſtitution are extremely rare, I ſhall preſent the reader with an abſtract of a few of ſuch parts, as appear the moſt ſingular and characteriſtic.

The expoſition of the *Creed* maintains Chriſt's local deſcent into Hell: and by *Hell* is meant not the Hebrew *Sheol*, the Greek *Hades*, or the Latin *Inferi*, but the *place of the damned*. By this deſcent, in his ſtate of ſeparation, he triumphed over the kingdom of Darkneſs, reſcued thoſe that died in the favour of God, and in the expectation of the promiſed Meſſiah, and thus reverſed the ſentence of condemnation pronounced on Adam.

Under the article, *Holy Catholic Church*, the church of Rome is declared to be only a part of the Catholic Church, and its biſhop, to have no juriſdiction in the churches of England, France, Spain, or of any other foreign realm. The *Catholic Church* is deſcribed, as a body comprehending all aſſemblies of men over the whole world, who receive the faith of Chriſt, hold unity of love, and rightly uſe the Sacraments *. To the Catholic Church are confined remiſſion of ſins, and eternal ſalvation. Againſt Heretics, and Infidels of every age, and under every circumſtance, a ſevere ſentence is pronounced.

After the Creed, each of the *ſeven Sacraments* is explained. Among theſe a diſtinction is made. To Baptiſm, the Euchariſt, and Penance, a preference is given on account of their being inſtituted by Chriſt, and made neceſſary to ſalvation.

The *ten Commandments* are divided, as they now remain in our catechiſm, and office of communion, into four of the firſt, and ſix of the ſecond table. In the expoſition of the ſecond Commandment, bowing to images is forbidden.

Ave Maria is pronounced not to be a prayer, for there is no ſupplication in it, but it is ſubjoined to the Lord's Prayer in the nature of a hymn.

Juſtification is declared to be granted through the merits of our Saviour, and no good works performed by us can pro-

* See our xxth article.

cure

cure God's favour. Still Juſtification depends upon conditions that we are to perform, ſuch as truſt in God, and obedience to the commands of Chriſt.

The article on *Purgatory* maintains the antiquity of praying for the dead, but proteſts againſt the efficacy of papal pardons, &c. in delivering ſouls from penal ſuffering.

In the ſame year, (1537) to Cranmer's inexpreſſible ſatisfaction *, appeared a new edition of a tranſlation of the Holy Bible into Engliſh. A copy of it was preſented to the King, by Cromwell, at the requeſt of the Archbiſhop, and royal *injunctions* were iſſued, commanding "all incumbents to provide one of theſe Bibles, and to ſet it up publicly in the church, and to encourage all perſons to read it, as being the true lively word of God, what every Chriſtian ought to believe, embrace and follow, if he expected to be ſaved."

Theſe Injunctions likewiſe required the parſon, on every Sunday and holiday, to repeat out of the *Lord's Prayer*, or *Creed*, a ſentence in *Engliſh*, till the people had learnt the whole by heart. On theſe heads, the clergy were to examine the people, at confeſſion, in Lent; and according to their proficiency, to admit them, or refuſe to admit them, to the ſacrament at Eaſter. The people were directed not to *knoll Aves* after the ſervice, as they had been accuſtomed to do, on the ſuppoſition that repeating *Aves* obtained pardon, and abſolution from the Pope. In *proceſſions*, it had been cuſtomary to ſay, *Ora pro nobis*, that is, *pray for us*, to ſuch a multitude of ſaints, that the people had no time to addreſs the

* The tidings of the licenſing of it," he ſaid, "did him more good than the gift of 10,000 pounds. This book was printed with marginal notes, and explanations that gave great offence to the popiſh party. From one of theſe notes, on the words, *What new doctrine is this?* (Mark 1. 27.) we may aſcertain the year in which this part of the volume was prepared for the preſs. The note is, "that what was then *new*, after XV. C. XXXVI years, is yet *new*. When will it then be *old?*" The note was intended to counteract the reproach caſt upon the *reformed religion*, which the Papiſts called, the *new upſtart* religion, the *new-fangled* doctrine, the *new* learning, &c.

Almighty

Almighty, and ſay, *Parce nobis, Domine*; *Libera nos, Domine*; that is, *Spare us, Lord*; *Lord deliver us.* They were now taught that it was better to omit the addreſſes to the ſaints, and to repeat the ſupplications made to God.

Of the Bible abovementioned, no more than fifteen hundred copies* were printed: the Injunctions to read it, and ſet it up in churches, could not therefore be univerſally obeyed. To ſupply the deficiency, a proclamation was iſſued in May, 1541, immediately after the publication of the Engliſh Bible, to which Cranmer prefixed a preface, commanding all curates and pariſhioners, who were not furniſhed with the firſt authoriſed edition, "to provide themſelves before All-hallow tide next following," and to cauſe the book to be conveniently placed in their reſpective churches. All biſhops and ordinaries were ſtrictly required to ſee that the command was put in execution.

The proclamation was accompanied with inſtructions to the clergy, which they were ordered to publiſh in their ſeveral churches. The purport of the inſtructions was "to aſſure the people of the King's good affection for them, in ſuffering them to have the benefit of ſo heavenly a treaſure; and to direct them to read the book to their greater comfort, the

* Theſe 1500 copies, *Grafton* printed at the expence of £.500. He ſoon had occaſion to apply to *Cromwell* for the ſuppreſſion of a ſurreptitious edition, by ſome Dutchmen, in a ſmaller type, "which elſe," he ſaid, "would tend to his undoing." The letter of *Grafton* to *Cromwell* is a curioſity; and were not the coſt of paper, and printing, increaſed in a ratio of which poor Grafton had no conception, I ſhould here amuſe the reader by preſenting him with a copy of it. Still it ſhould be remembered, that £.500, though embarked on ſuch a bottom, by a King's printer, who was patronized by the Vicegerent, and the Archbiſhop, was a conſiderable ſum, when royal munificence granted to *Aſcham* a penſion of £.10 a year. Mr. Hume would reduce this number two thirds. He affirms that but 500 were printed—ch. 32. A. D. 1542. He likewiſe confounds the Bible, publiſhed in 1537, with Cranmer's, which appeared in 1541. His account of the dates and contents of the *inſtitution*, and *erudition*, is equally *incorrect*, and *malevolent*.

reforma-

reformation of their lives, and the peace and quiet of the church *."

But in the enſuing year, theſe conceſſions were entirely revoked. Henry affected to have diſcovered, that "the reading of the Old and New Teſtaments tended to ſeduce the people, and to raiſe ſedition." It was therefore enacted by parliament †, on whom the King contrived to throw the odium of a proceeding ſo contrary to his late *Injunctions*, *Proclamation*, and *Inſtructions*, "that Tyndal's tranſlation ſhould be aboliſhed, and others be purged, by cutting or blotting out all preambles, and annotations; that the Bible ſhould not be read openly in any church, but by the leave of the King, nor privately by any women, apprentices, artificers," &c.

After *Cromwell*'s influence with the King began to decline, was paſſed the act of the ſix articles. Henry, in a proclamation iſſued in the beginning of May, 1539, gave to the proteſtants no obſcure intimation of what he meant this act to effect. It ſtated, that "his Majeſty, like a godlike and catholic prince, knowing and conſidering his kingly office and charge, had reſolved to reduce his people to uniformity in religion, and to extinguiſh all diverſities of opinion, by *terrible* laws to be made by his parliament." At the introduction of the bill, the Lord Chancellor informed the peers, that the King himſelf, with the lords ſpiritual, had paid great attention to the drawing up of theſe articles. Cromwell, lord privy ſeal, did not riſe to ſpeak, knowing that

* Heylin's church of England juſtified.

† 34, 35, Henry VIII. c. 1. This act does not appear to have been ſo implicitly obeyed as Henry expected. A ſpirit of free inquiry in matters of religion had ariſen among our proteſtant forefathers. The King, therefore, about three or four years after, in order to give energy to a penal ſtatute, followed it up with a royal proclamation. Henry's Parliament had at this time reſigned its civil, as well as its religious liberties, to the Monarch, and by a poſitive ſtatute, had given to a royal proclamation, the force of a law.

the King was determined that the bill ſhould paſs. Cranmer, however, combated its principles through every ſtage. Of the arguments, which he employed, we have no record; but from Henry's deſiring afterward to be favoured with a copy of their outline, we may conjecture that they were worthy of the well-earned reputation of the Archbiſhop. The bill in ſhort met with ſuch vigorous oppoſition, that it muſt inevitably have been thrown out, had not Henry himſelf entered the houſe, and peremptorily commanded the lords to paſs it. At the third reading, the Archbiſhop was requeſted by the King to retire, but he did not leave the aſſembly till he had given his vote againſt the bill's paſſing into a law.

Henry knew the integrity of Cranmer, and was too generous to be diſpleaſed with him for oppoſing a meaſure, which though not defenſible in itſelf, was thought neceſſary for political purpoſes. After the act was paſſed, the King ſent for him to conſole him under this mortification, and to aſſure him of his favour. He likewiſe directed Cromwell, with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to dine with the Archbiſhop at Lambeth, and to acquaint him with the high regard the King had for him. At this dinner an unfortunate, and, as I conceive, an unpremeditated quarrel took place between the Lord Cromwell and the Duke of Norfolk. Though it was ſuppreſſed at the time by the interference of the Archbiſhop, it continued to rankle in the breaſt of Norfolk, whoſe vengeance ſeems to have been appeaſed only by the deſtruction of his adverſary *.

The

* This quarrel furniſhes an additional reaſon for the future enmity of the Duke of Norfolk towards Cromwell. In the converſation at table, a compariſon was made between the principles and manners of Cranmer, and Woolſey, with a view to compliment the Archbiſhop at the expence of the Cardinal; in the courſe of which, Norfolk among other opprobrious accuſations, taxed Cromwell with having conſented, in caſe Woolſey ſhould obtain the pontifical chair, to become his *Admiral*. This charge Cromwell not only denied, but retorted, declaring,

The Act of the *Six Articles*, Proteſtant writers have entitled the *bloody Bill*, and the *whip with ſix thongs*. It obliged the Archbiſhop to diſmiſs his wife *; who was ſent to her friends in Germany. It compelled honeſt *Latimer* to reſign his biſhopric, which he exchanged for a priſon. The penalty for denying the *firſt* of the ſix articles, the corporal preſence in the Euchariſt, was *death by fire*, with the forfeiture of all real and perſonal eſtates. Whoever *wrote*, *preached*, or *ſpoke* againſt it, was to be burnt without the privilege of *abjuration*. Such a ſeverity had not hitherto been exerciſed in England, and a proceeding ſo ſanguinary has rarely diſgraced the Inquiſition. Rigorous as this act was, it ſtill afforded one conſolation to the reformers. Their lives and property were not left at the mercy of the clergy, and of the eccleſiaſtical courts. Their trial, as Burnet † has remarked, was by a jury ‡, where they might expect more candid and liberal treatment.

And, indeed, while Cromwell lived, though he was unable to preſerve all, yet few periſhed by this law. But after

claring, that as ſecretary to Woolſey, he knew that Norfolk had agreed to accept this office, and ſpecifying the preciſe ſum which he had ſtipulated to receive as the terms of his acceptance of it: And it ſeems probable that Norfolk was aware that this diſhonourable engagement could be effectually concealed only by Cromwell's death. (Parker's Antiq. Brit. Fox, Burnet, &c.)

* She was the niece of Oſiander, a celebrated proteſtant divine of Nuremberg, with whom Cranmer became acquainted while he was employed on the embaſſy to the Emperor on the ſubject of Henry's firſt *divorce*. During his attendance on the Emperor's court, Cranmer had an opportunity of ſatisfying many of the council and learned Germans, of the illegality of the marriage. It was probably at his inſtigation, that Oſiander wrote a treatiſe on inceſtuous Marriages, the object of which was to prove Henry's marriage with Catharine unlawful.

† Book I. part III. page 260.

‡ That is, by commiſſioners nominated by the King, of whom the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the dioceſe was to be one.

he was put to death *, and Gardiner and Norfolk were inveſted with the direction of the King's councils, a furious perſecution was carried on againſt the Proteſtants under this act, *and the land was defiled with their blood* †. But "the blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the church;" and it is the obſervation of the firſt Engliſh infidel of notoriety ‡, that "the

* He was arreſted at the council-board by *Norfolk*, in June, 1540, on an accuſation of high treaſon; and the houſe of peers thought proper, without trial, examination or evidence, to condemn to death the man, whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be Vicar-general of the univerſe. That Cromwell was a heretic, (i. e. a proteſtant) had protected heretics from puniſhment, written to ſheriffs to ſet them at liberty, checked informers, favoured the new preachers, and procured many heretical books to be tranſlated into Engliſh, were the principal of the crimes enumerated in the act of attainder, of which his enemies could prove him guilty. The ſtory about his *treaſonable words*, and the *dagger*, is ridiculous; and were it true, Cromwell was entitled to a ſituation, not in the *Tower*, but in the hoſpital of St. *Mary* of *Bethlem*, which was purchaſed about this period, for the reception of *lunatics*. From the well known capriciouſneſs of Henry, Cromwell was prepared for a diminution of the royal favour; but the plot of Gardiner and Norfolk was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, that the tempeſt by which he was overwhelmed, burſt unexpectedly upon him.

After his arreſt, Cromwell was forſaken by all his friends, except Cranmer, who had the honeſty and boldneſs to repreſent to the King, the innocence and fidelity of a fallen favourite. Cromwell was executed in July, 1540, and Henry is ſaid to have expreſſed remorſe for this act of flagrant injuſtice. (Hume, Burnet, Collier, Herbert, &c.) The following are the words of *Parker*, the ſecond proteſtant Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Cromwellus pontificiorum odiis capitis accuſatus, ſine ſui defenſione primus præter exemplum condemnatus eſt. Quo non fuit aut religione erga Deum, aut fidelitate in Regem, aut prudentia in Rempublicam, aut in bene meritos gratitudine, aut in omnes pietate, charitate, ac benevolentia majore tunc in Anglia quiſquam. (Antiq. Brit. p. 334. Ed. Han. 1605.)

† The horrid maſſacre committed from day to day under this act, was more particularly confined within the precincts of the dioceſe of London, of which ſee, *Bonner*, or as he is frequently called, *the bloody Butcher*, was then Biſhop.

‡ Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, author of the Life of Henry VIII., and of a work entitled, *De veritate*, &c. The object of the latter was to

"the perſecution of the Proteſtants did but advance their religion; and it was thought that they had ſome aſſiſtance from above, it being impoſſible otherwiſe that they ſhould ſo rejoice in the midſt of their torments, and triumph over the moſt cruel death."

In 1543, about ſix years after its firſt publication, *the Biſhop's Book*, or the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, underwent a review, by a Committee of Divines appointed by the King. At this review, ſeveral alterations, and many conſiderable additions were made. The book, thus reformed and enlarged, was approved of by a majority in both houſes of parliament, and publiſhed by the King's authority, under the title of *A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chriſtian Man.* Of the *Inſtitution*, I have already given an abſtract. The account of the *Erudition*, I ſhall confine principally to thoſe points in which it differs from the *Inſtitution.*

To the *Erudition* are prefixed two prefaces; one by the Compilers, and another by the King. The former ſets forth the care with which the Commiſſioners had examined the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of the ancient Doctors, from which, it ſays, they had collected the preſent Expoſition of Chriſtian faith. His Majeſty ſtates, that ſince he had allowed the publication of the Scriptures in Engliſh, ſome, by wreſting the holy text, had occaſioned diſputes and diverſity of opinions: that therefore ſeveral ranks were prohibited by the legiſlature from reading the Bible: and that to recover the people to orthodoxy and unity, he had ſet forth this ſummary of religion. The preface then proceeds to the ſubject of the *Erudition*, enumerates the articles it contains, and aſſigns reaſons for the mode of their arrangement.

to ſhew the ſufficiency of natural religion, and to diſcredit all revelation. Yet the author ſolemnly tells us, that the book was publiſhed in conſequence of his receiving a ſomething, which he took for an extraordinary revelation, and for the truth of which, however improbable, we have only his own unſupported aſſertion.

The *Erudition* begins with the article of *Faith*, it being thought proper that the expoſition of Chriſtian belief ſhould be preceded by a declaration of the meaning of *faith in general*. That is declared to be ſaving faith, which is profeſſed by Chriſtians at baptiſm, (viz.) "ſuch a belief, as begets ſubmiſſion to the will of God; and hath Hope, Love, and Obedience to God's commandments joined to it. This was Abraham's faith.—We may not think that we are *juſtified by Faith*, as it is a virtue ſeparate from Hope, Charity, Fear of God, and Repentance. It (faith that juſtifies) contains obedience to the whole doctrine and religion of Chriſt."—To prevent too much reliance on bare belief, or confident perſuaſion, and to preſerve men from the extremes of preſumption, and deſpair, the authors declare, that "for the definition of faith which ſome propoſed, as if it was a certainty that one was *predeſtinated*, they found nothing of this in either the Scriptures or Doctors, and they thought it could not be known." It is added, "though God never fails in his promiſes to men, yet ſuch is the frailty of men, that they often fail in their promiſes to God, and thus forfeit their right to the promiſes, which are all made on conditions that depend on us *."

Beſide the treatiſe on *Faith*, we find in the *Erudition* two other diſtinct diſcourſes, on *free will*, and *good works*. In the *Inſtitution*, none of theſe three ſubjects is expreſsly treated of, nor indeed mentioned, except incidentally; we muſt, therefore, in theſe articles, conſider the *Erudition* as a ſupplement to the *Inſtitution*.

In the expoſition of the Creed, under the article of *Chriſt's deſcent into Hell*, the deſign of his going thither is handled more briefly, and in more general terms: yet in both books the word is uſed to ſignify the place of torment.

* This treatiſe on Faith was compoſed by Dr. Redman, one of the compilers of our Engliſh Liturgy, and one of the moſt learned and judicious divines of the age.

In

In the article of our *Saviour's ſitting at the right hand of the Father*, both books mention his interceſſion, but the latter adds a caution, that though the interceſſion of ſaints, and of the church militant, may be ſerviceable, yet this is only by virtue of the mediation of Chriſt.—Under the head *Catholit Church*, the *Erudition* refines upon the former volume. In conſtitutes kings, heads of particular churches, and gives them ſuper-intendance in the appointment of biſhops.—On *Communion of Saints*, the *Erudition* is leſs full and explicit againſt the Pope's power to diſpenſe the *treaſures* of the church, than the *Inſtitution* is, which likewiſe, on the laſt article of the Creed, declares good men made happy, not ſo much for their own good works, as through the mercy of God, and the atonement of Chriſt. On this the *Erudition* is here ſilent.

Under the article *Sacrament of the Altar*, the *Erudition* evidently maintains *tranſubſtantiation*, which the *Inſtitution* did not. But the Act of the *ſix Articles* had been paſſed, and Cromwell was executed. If Cranmer was not now compelled to bend to the law, if he now ventured to ſpeak either againſt tranſubſtantiation, or the ſufficiency of receiving only in one kind, he was out-voted.

Under the fifth commandment, in both books ſufficient ſtreſs is laid upon the duty of unlimited *paſſive obedience* in the ſubject, in all caſes, without exception.

Between the two books, I ſhall notice in particular only one more difference. The latter does not give to Baptiſm, the Euchariſt, and Penance, the decided preference, which had been given by the former; and it may be obſerved, in general, that the *Erudition* inclines to the doctrine of the ſix Articles, and, on controverſial points, occaſionally favours the Romaniſts, more than the *Inſtitution* had done *.

Towards

* I long wondered at Strype's ſaying, (Mem. Vol. I. page 381) that the *Erudition* was ſo changed, that it may ſeem to be another book, rather than a new edition of the *Inſtitution*; but it is evident that he

Towards the close of this reign, some *Injunctions*, which appear not unfavourable to the principles of the reformation, were published; such are the orders about putting down images, &c. and more especially we may notice the direction, which invests the officiating minister with a discretionary power of omitting the mention of the saints in the public service. The severities of the Act of the *six Articles* were also softened by moderation in its execution. The English Bible was again *set up* in churches, and, on Sundays, and holidays, the Curate was directed to read to the people a chapter of the New Testament. In 1544, about the time of the King's expedition against *Boulogne*, Cranmer drew up a *Litany* in the English tongue. This *Litany*, or *procession*, as it was then termed, was appointed to be sung in the choir, on every fourth, and sixth day in the week, that the people might "in becoming harmony, and with one voice, holily, and piously, not only with their lips, but with purity of heart, adore the Almighty God of Hosts, the sole giver of all victory *." Prayers, and suffrages in *English*, on account of immoderate rains, and on other occasions, were likewise ordered to be read throughout all the churches, more frequently than had formerly been done. In promoting this practice, Cranmer is supposed to have had the principal merit. About this period, Gardiner had the ascendency at court, and the Popish party carried all before it. Still the Archbishop hoped that the people, by understanding only a small part of their prayers, might in time be desirous to have the whole service rendered intelligible.

mistook the *Articles* of 1536, mentioned in the fifth page of this Introduction, for the *Institution*. The *Institution* he fancied was printed in the Addenda to Burnet's first volume, page 305. But that is a copy of the *Articles*, given by Fuller, book v. page 213. and by Collier, Vol. II. page 122. The *Articles* of 1536, and the *Institution* of 1537, are indeed very different books: as different, as two didactic treatises on similar subjects, by the same persons, can be supposed to be.

* Archbishop Cranmer's Letter to the Bishops, and the Order of the Council.

These

Theſe are the principal advantages, ſo far at leaſt as the Liturgy and public worſhip are concerned, that Cranmer, Cromwell, and the friends of reformation were enabled to gain in the time of Henry: and it muſt be acknowledged, that they appear inconſiderable, and almoſt contemptible, when compared with the great work that was accompliſhed in the ſhort reign of his ſucceſſor. But Cranmer had to contend with one of the ſtrongeſt popular prejudices, and was ſupported by only a ſmall number of adherents. They were indeed honeſt, and conſcientious; and ſeveral of them were learned; yet amidſt the weakneſs and imprudence of the greater part, a few only are known to have rendered any eſſential ſervice to the cauſe in which they had engaged. When to the imbecility of Cranmer's inſtruments, we ſee oppoſed the addreſs and influence of Gardiner, the treachery of Bonner, the deſertion of others, the rancour too common both to the leaders and followers of the popiſh party, together with the notorious proſtitution of the courtiers in general, we may form ſome conception, how arduous muſt have been the poſt, held by the Archbiſhop, from the fall of Cromwell to the death of Henry. The conduct of this violent and capricious monarch, and the ſervile obſequiouſneſs of his parliaments, ſhew, that by virtue of his new title, *ſupreme head of the church*, he was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs, or at leaſt permitted to exerciſe, the ſame enormous powers, that had been formerly uſurped by the Roman Pontiffs. Though, principally for political purpoſes, he renounced the juriſdiction of the ſee of Rome, he remained attached to the greater part of its worſt errors *; and, to the contemplative mind, it muſt ever afford matter of ſurpriſe, that in this reign, ſo much, rather than ſo little, was effected in favour of the reformation.

* He ſeverely perſecuted thoſe who diſſented from it: and died, though excommunicate, in that faith and doctrine, which he had, as it were ſucked in with his mother's milk, and of which he ſhewed himſelf ſo ſtrenuous a champion againſt Luther. (See Pref. to Heylin's Reform.)

On the acceſſion of Edward VI. a more favourable proſpect was opened to the reformers. The young monarch having been educated in the principles of proteſtantiſm, and few members of the regency retaining much attachment to the intereſts of popery, there no longer exiſted in government any material obſtacle to the progreſs of the reformation; and meaſures as active and vigorous, as circumſtances would admit, were accordingly purſued for its eſtabliſhment *.

In

* Somerſet, Lord Protector, and many of the courtiers; as well as Cranmer, a few of the biſhops, and other proteſtants, were induſtrious in promoting the reformation, but from motives totally different from theirs. The object of Cranmer was to rectify abuſes in the public worſhip; that of the courtiers, to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the church. The members of parliament, who differed in their religious ſentiments, agreed in the principle "of ſtriking in with the juncture, and taking care of themſelves." Some of the members of the Houſe of Commons, who had ſupported the doctrines of the late reign, and were ſtill cordially affected to them, became apprehenſive that the near approximation of theſe doctrines to thoſe of the Romiſh church, might eventually terminate in an union with the Pope: and ſuch a coalition they foreſaw might endanger their quiet poſſeſſion of the "goodly patrimony" lately pillaged from the church. Others, who wiſhed to improve, or repair their fortunes, would naturally vote for any *reform*, likely to be ſubſervient to their own views. The acts of Edward's parliament concerning religion, wear a ſtrange and motley aſpect. In ſome inſtances it is but too evident, that the ſpoliation of eccleſiaſtical eſtates, and the enrichment of particular families, were, both by the regency and parliament, more attended to, than either "the good of Chriſt's church, or the glory of God." However ſolicitous Cranmer might be to correct abuſes practiſed by the prieſts, belonging to the *colleges*, *free-chapels*, and *chauntries*, he ſhewed himſelf a ſtrenuous oppoſer of the abolition of theſe rich foundations, during the minority of the king: but his counſel was over-ruled, and in the ſpace of a very few years, ninety-two *colleges*, (the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge were ſpared) and two thouſand, three hundred, and ſeventy-four *chauntries* and *free-chapels*, were devoured by the greater *harpies* of the court. Many of the inferior lords, and others, who had diſguiſed their private aims, under pretence of doing good to the public, preferred their complaints, upon the attainder of the Protector, in the hope of ſharing a part of the offices or property engroſſed by him, that they

In order to qualify the clergy * to inſtruct the people in the principles of religion, and the terms of ſalvation, according to the goſpel, the Archbiſhop, probably with the occaſional aſſiſtance of Ridley and of Latimer, compoſed thoſe twelve diſcourſes that now ſtand in the former part of the book of Homilies †. To diffuſe the knowledge of Holy Scripture, the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus on the Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles, was tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed; his Paraphraſe on the Epiſtles not being yet publiſhed. For the inſtruction of children and young perſons, the Archbiſhop publiſhed a catechiſm in Engliſh ‡. He alſo wrote this year in Engliſh, an elaborate diſcourſe on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of which he afterward publiſhed a very elegant Latin tranſlation §.

The command that the Homilies ſhould be read in churches by ſuch prieſts as could not preach, was the only innovation at firſt made in the public worſhip: and, for a conſiderable time, all the rites and ceremonies continued nearly the ſame as in the former reign. The King, the Primate, and the

they had not had their *equal dividend*, when the lands of the *colleges*, &c. *were given up for a prey*. (Our eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians in general, Heylin in particular.)

* Heylin, Burnet, Fuller, Collier, Strype.

† The Homilies were immediately tranſlated into Latin, and were highly gratifying to the foreign proteſtants. Bucer, in a congratulatory letter to the church of England, written in this year, extols the Homilies, and indirectly admoniſhes the governors of the church of the propriety of proceeding further in the reformation, and in particular of what related to the ſacraments. "The foundations," he ſays, "were ſo rightly and judiciouſly laid in England, that nothing could be wanting towards building ſound doctrine and diſcipline."

‡ This he tranſlated from a Lutheran work in Latin, written in Germany: and though he made ſome additions accommodated to the Engliſh church, yet he adhered ſo far to his original, as to retain ſome things that ſeemed not perfectly in uniſon with his own ſentiments, as they appear in his other works.

§ This work received its laſt poliſh in priſon. It is rare, and valuable.

Pro-

Protector, with the other members of the regency, were determined upon a thorough reform of abuſes in religion: and were employed in deliberating upon the ſafeſt, and moſt efficacious means of carrying their deſigns into effect. It was judged expedient not to avow their intentions too openly, till towards the approach of the meeting of a parliament and a convocation. In September, 1547, about nine months after the King's acceſſion, and about two before the meeting of parliament, an order was iſſued for holding a royal viſitation throughout England, and for ſuſpending, in the interim, the ordinary powers of the biſhops. At this time a proclamation by the King, even during his minority, was equivalent to a ſtatute. The object of the viſitation was to regulate the affairs *of religion, and of the church.* The realm was divided into ſix diſtricts, or circuits, to viſit each of which a commiſſion was appointed, conſiſting of two, or more gentlemen, a civilian, a regiſtrar, and at leaſt one of the ableſt divines and preachers that could be found, who was to inſtruct the people, and facilitate the work of the commiſſioners. Theſe viſitors, though principally laymen, were armed with ſtrong extenſive powers, being authoriſed to viſit both the clergy and the laity, to examine licences, faculties, endowments, and titles; to enquire into the practices of the ſpiritual courts, and even to inſpect every part of the epiſcopalian function. They carried with them books of the *Homilies*, one of which was left with each pariſh prieſt to be read to the people, that they might not forget, or be diverted from, what they had been taught by the preacher, who accompanied the commiſſion. They likewiſe took with them and delivered, copies of the *Royal Injunctions*, and of *the Articles to be enquired of at the King's viſitation.*

As the Injunctions are to be met with in Fox's Monuments, and Sparrow's Collection; and abſtracts of them at leaſt in Fuller, Heylin, Burnet, Collier, and Strype, I ſhall content myſelf with giving, without much regard to the order in which they ſtand, the heads of a few of thoſe that ſeem

to

to have been more particularly intended to correct the prejudices of the age, and to reduce the public worſhip nearer to the model of the primitive church.

The Injunctions command "all eccleſiaſtics to obſerve the laws for the abolition of the Pope's pretended power, and for the confirmation of the King's ſupremacy; and to inſtruct the people on thoſe heads four times a year.—They are to diſſuade them from undertaking *pilgrimages*, worſhipping *images*, extolling *relics*, &c. to exhort them to the exerciſe of *Faith*, *Mercy*, and *Charity*.—*Images* abuſed by *offerings*, &c. were to be taken down; no candles burnt before any image; and no more than two lights to be placed upon the altar only, which are intended to ſhew, that Chriſt is the true light of the world. The word *papa* (*pope*) and the name and ſervice of *Thomas Becket*, were to be expunged from the church books. All *ſhrines*, *coverings of ſhrines*, *candleſticks*, *trindals* or rolls of wax, *pictures*, &c. with every monument of feigned miracles, were to be deſtroyed. The people were to be inſtructed to do the ſame in their private houſes, and cautioned againſt the ſuperſtition of ſprinkling beds with holy water, of ringing holy bells, and of bleſſing with holy candles, to drive away devils, dreams, or phantaſies."

On the other hand, the Injunctions require the Bible of the larger volume in Engliſh, and the tranſlation of the Paraphraſe of the Goſpels by Eraſmus, to be placed in the church, in a convenient place, for the reading of the people; and on every Sunday, when there is no ſermon, the Lord's Prayer, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, are to be audibly recited from the pulpit. In Lent, the clergy were to examine, whether ſuch as came to confeſſion could repeat the Lord's Prayer, &c. and if they were not perfect in them, to admoniſh them to learn theſe neceſſary things more perfectly, before they preſumed to come to God's board. One chapter of the New Teſtament was to be read at mattins, and another out of the Old Teſtament at evening ſong. In the office of the maſs, or ſacrament of

the

the altar, the epiſtle and goſpel were to be read in Engliſh, and not in Latin, and from ſuch convenient place as the people might hear. Proceſſions about the church, and church-yard, were forbidden, and the prieſts and quire, kneeling in the midſt of the church, were to ſing, or ſay, plainly and diſtinctly, the *Litany ſet forth in Engliſh, with all the ſuffrages following*, adding nothing thereto.—On holidays, three out of the nine leſſons appointed in the Breviary at mattins were to be omitted, with the reſponds; and at even ſong, the reſponds, with all the *memories*, were to be left out.—No perſon was to violate any ceremony of the church, nor to alter any part of the ſervice, otherwiſe than ſpecified in theſe Injunctions.

With the *Injunctions* were printed, *Articles of Viſitation*, which were likewiſe diſtributed by the commiſſioners through their reſpective diſtricts. Theſe are addreſſed firſt to biſhops, archdeacons, and eccleſiaſtical officers;—ſecondly, to parſons, vicars and curates;—and, thirdly, to the lay-people. So far as the two latter claſſes are concerned, they do not very materially differ from Cranmer's Articles of Viſitation, iſſued in the enſuing year, and reprinted by Sparrow. Both principally conſiſt of interrogatories formed upon the principles laid down in the Royal Injunctions.—From *the articles of the royal viſitation*, I here abridge and throw together a few of thoſe addreſſed to the parochial clergy.

"Have you juſtly, truly, and without diſſimulation, preached againſt the pretended power of the Biſhop of Rome, and declared that the King's authority is moſt ſupreme, under God, in this realm?—Do miſuſed images, ſhrines, ſhoes, offerings, trindals of wax, or other monuments of idolatry, ſuperſtition or hypocriſy, remain in churches, or elſewhere?—Have you, on Sundays and holidays, taught your pariſhioners, and eſpecially the youth, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer*, and

* Latimer, who was now releaſed from priſon, and preached at St. Paul's Croſs, January 1, 1547-8, the better to imprint the Lord's Prayer upon

and the ten Commandments, and expounded the ſame?—Have you provided and diſpoſed, in a convenient place, the Engliſh Bible; and moved the people to hear and read the Scripture in Engliſh, and to pray in a known tongue?—Have you, in Lent, required your pariſhioners in their confeſſion, to recite in Engliſh the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of Faith, and the ten Commandments, and declared that they ought to know, and underſtand them, before they receive the ſacrament of the altar?—Have you preached, purely and ſincerely, the word of God, and the faith of Chriſt, exhorting your pariſhioners to works commanded by Scripture, and not to works deviſed by men's phantaſies?"

To prepare the way for the royal viſitation, and the reception of the Injunctions; and in order to eſtabliſh a precedent for the reſt of the kingdom, the *compline*, or the laſt evening office, had been performed in Engliſh at the Chapel Royal: and in the cathedral church of St. Paul the Litany was ſung in Engliſh, between the choir and the high altar, the ſingers kneeling, half of them on one ſide, and half on the other. On the ſame day, in the communion office, the epiſtle and goſpel were read in the Engliſh tongue. The image of Chriſt, commonly called the *rood*, with other images in St. Paul's; and, indeed, all the images in the London churches were removed. The ſentiments of the court being thus underſtood, and the *ſigns of the times* being ſufficiently *diſcernible*, many of the clergy publicly retracted their late opinions, and in their ſermons expreſſed their ſorrow for their miſtakes. Some of theſe retractations were, no doubt, ſincere; but others, as was proved by the event, proceeded from temporizing motives. In ſhort, the viſitation was

upon the memory of the people, repeated it, eſpecially in the country, both before, and after his ſermon. Strype adds, that, "when any poor people came to him to aſk an alms, he would oppoſe them with the Lord's Prayer, and bad them ſay it; and would cauſe his ſervants ſometimes to require them to ſay it. Many would tell him, they could ſay the *Latin Pater Noſter*; and others, that they could ſay their *Old Pater Noſter*, but not the *New*, meaning the Lord's Prayer in *Engliſh*." (Mem. 1547.)

acceptable to many of the clergy, and to the laity in general *. By ſome of the clergy, it was diſliked, and eſpecially by Bonner, biſhop of London, and Gardiner of Wincheſter. Gardiner, who by Henry's will, had no place in the regency, was the chief champion, that openly ſtood forward in the roman catholic cauſe, in oppoſition to the adminiſtration.

Before the return of the commiſſioners, Edward's firſt parliament was aſſembled. It repealed the ſtatute of the Six Articles, as well as various ſtatutes concerning doctrine, and matters of religion. It enacted that every perſon, depraving, deſpiſing, or contemning the ſacrament of the altar, ſhould be fined and impriſoned at the King's pleaſure. In particular it decreed, that this ſacrament ſhould, agreeably to the unanimous reſolve of the Convocation, be received by the laity in both kinds, "according to the truth of Scripture, and the moſt approved antiquity," and it directed a new office to be compoſed for the purpoſe †. This, with the royal proclamation

* *Old*, who was a preacher, and a viſitor of what may be termed the Midland Circuit, informs us, that "the ſimple vulgar ſort were glad; and conformably willing to hear the pure word of God, and obediently to receive the King's Injunctions."

† This office peculiarly required reformation. It has always been eſteemed the moſt important part of the Liturgy of the Chriſtian church, or rather, it alone was the Liturgy. (Renaudot. Lit. Orient. tom. I. p. 169.) That it now abounded with idle ſuperſtition, the Miſſal of Sarum, or any other of the age, will teſtify. But the divines appointed to draw up a new form did not reject every thing that was exceptionable. In fact, they did little more than change the *maſs* into a *communion*, or rather annex the *communion* to the *maſs*. From the tenor of the royal proclamation, prefixed to *the order of the communion*, it is evident that a farther reformation of this and other offices, was intended. "We would not," ſays the King, "have our ſubjects ſo much to diſlike our judgment, ſo much to miſtruſt our zeal, as though we either could not diſcern what were to be done, or would not do all things in *due time*. God be praiſed, we know both what by his word is meet to be redreſſed, and have an earneſt mind, by the advice of our Privy Council, with all diligence and convenient ſpeed ſo to ſet forth the ſame, as it may moſt ſtand with God's glory, and edifying and quietneſs

mation prefixed, was publiſhed early in March, 1547-8. On the 13th of the ſame month, copies of the office, together with

quietneſs of our people." The proclamation requires the people to ſubmit to *this order*, for this reaſon, "that We may be encouraged from time to time further to travel for the reformation, and ſetting forth ſuch godly orders, as may be moſt to God's glory, the edifying of our ſubjects, and for the advancement of true religion."—Cranmer, who had now the ſole direction of affairs purely eccleſiaſtical, foreſaw the danger that might attend violent changes. To enſure the ſucceſs of the reformation, he thought it adviſable to proceed by gradual advances, and by movements as imperceptible as poſſible. On no other principle can we account for the motley hue of this office, in which the maſs in *Latin*, as uſed before, was continued to the end of the Canon, and the prieſt's receiving the ſacrament, "without the varying of any rite, or ceremony," except that he was to conſecrate *more* wine than formerly, and "not drink it up all himſelf, but take one only ſup, or draught, and leave the reſt upon the altar."—The *Communion* began with the exhortation, *Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to his holy Communion, muſt conſider*, &c. The *Exhortation*, which is nearly the ſame with that in our preſent office, is followed by, *You that do truly and earneſtly*, &c. the *Confeſſion*, and the *Abſolution*. The laſt begins, "Our bleſſed Lord, who hath left power to his church to abſolve penitent ſinners from their ſins, and to reſtore to the grace of the heavenly Father ſuch as truly believe in Chriſt, have mercy," &c. Then comes, *Hear what comfortable words*, &c. The laſt ſentence from 1 John ii. 1, 2. is immediately followed by, *We do not preſume to come to this thy table*, &c. which the prieſt, who had already received the ſacrament, was to ſay only *in the name of the people*. After this, the *Conſecration* having already taken place in the *Latin Maſs*, ſaid before the Communion, comes *the form* to be uſed at the diſtribution of the elements, which is ſucceeded by the final bleſſing.

In this *order of the Communion, when the prieſt doth deliver the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, he ſhall ſay to every one*, "The *Body* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was given for thee, preſerve thy *Body* unto everlaſting life." *And delivering the Sacrament of the Blood, and giving every one to drink once, and no more, he ſhall ſay*, "The *Blood* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy *Soul* unto everlaſting life." Theſe forms were thought to give an undue preference to the chalice. The *Body*, it was ſaid, could preſerve only the *Body*, whereas the *Blood* might preſerve the *Soul*. Cranmer took care to have this rectified. Accordingly, in the firſt book of Edward, the

with letters of inſtruction from the council, were ſent to the biſhops, to be circulated through their reſpective dioceſes, that the form might be underſtood by the clergy, explained to the people, and univerſally adopted at the approaching feſtival of Eaſter.

It was eagerly adopted by many of the clergy, and admitted by others, who ſtill were diſſatisfied that auricular confeſſion ſhould be left to the diſcretion of each individual. By ſome, who were attached to the *old office of the maſs*, it was totally rejected. At this time, notwithſtanding the King's *Injunctions*, the ſtatute concerning the Communion, and various royal proclamations, there remained great diverſity both of faith and worſhip. Several of the popiſh biſhops, particularly *Gardiner* of Wincheſter, and *Bonner* of London, were dilatory in the execution of the late act of parliament, as well as of the royal mandates. To theſe, many of the parochial clergy likewiſe laboured to excite oppoſition; and, in their ſermons, endeavoured to impreſs the people with an idea that the King meant to lay *ſtrange and heavy impoſts upon his ſubjects, and to exact half a crown for every funeral, baptiſm, or marriage.* On this account all preaching, except under licence obtained either from the Protector, or Archbiſhop, was ſuſpended. But this expedient did not completely anſwer the purpoſe: for ſome, even of the licenſed preachers, declaimed as violently, as their unlicenſed brethren had lately done, againſt what they termed the King's *proceedings*; and it was the common practice of men of every deſcription, who were either inimical to the adminiſtration, or averſe to the reform made in religion, to pretend that the

words "thy body and ſoul," were united, and inſerted in both the forms; as they are at this day. Yet in the prayer, immediately preceding the *Prayer of Conſecration*, and beginning, "We do not preſume to come to this thy table," we retain a remnant of the ſame diſtinction. We there pray "that our ſinful *Bodies* may be clean by Chriſt's *Body*, and our *Souls* waſhed by his moſt precious *Blood*."—This *order of the Communion* is publiſhed in *Sparrow*'s Collection, and at the end of *L'Eſtrange*'s Alliance.

order

order for the Communion, together with other regulations, was the act of perſons about the King, and not of the King himſelf.

Whilſt ſome thus refuſed to comply with the regulations eſtabliſhed by law, "numbers," as it is ſtated in a royal proclamation, "were not content to follow authority, according to the bounden duty of ſubjects, but over-ran it, and by their raſhneſs became the greateſt hinderers of what they would ſeem moſt hotly to ſet forward." After what has been ſaid, it is hardly neceſſary to add, that the office of the Communion, and all the other offices, were very differently performed in different parochial and cathedral churches.

Theſe and other irregularities, Cranmer, and the council thought it adviſable for a ſhort time quietly to tolerate, and "the King abſtained from puniſhing" what he ſtyled the "frailty and weakneſs of his ſubjects, proceeding from a good zeal." But the principles of the reformation having evidently taken firm poſſeſſion of men's minds in England, the regency determined that uniformity of worſhip ſhould likewiſe be eſtabliſhed throughout the realm. For it is deſerving of notice, that hitherto there had not been in England any one ſervice eſtabliſhed by public authority for the general uſe of the church. In the ſouthern parts of the iſland, the offices according to the uſe of Sarum, and in the northern, thoſe of York, were generally followed. In South Wales the offices of Hereford were adopted, and in North Wales thoſe of Bangor. The dioceſe of Lincoln had offices peculiar to itſelf, and in ſome places were uſed offices different from all the preceding *.

It ſhould likewiſe be obſerved, that previouſly to the reformation, the preſcribed ſervice of the church was performed only in Latin †; and that even the pureſt Liturgies conſiſted

* It would appear, that more was left to the diſcretion of the clergy in this reſpect, than is commonly imagined.

† Yet a few of the clergy about this time performed the offices in general in Engliſh.

of ſound, and primitive forms of prayer, debaſed by a ſtrange mixture of ſuperſtitious tenets and idle ceremonies.

To prevent in future diverſity of practice, to enable the people at large to underſtand the public ſervice, and more eſpecially to ſuppreſs popery, and to introduce a purer formulary of worſhip, the King and Council reſolved that one public Liturgy ſhould be compoſed in Engliſh, by commiſſioners ſelected from the clergy, and that it ſhould be ratified by parliament. In purſuance of this reſolution, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *Ridley*, afterwards biſhop of London, and other eminent divines, were nominated *, to draw up, in *Engliſh*, a book of offices for the general uſe of the church.

The commiſſioners met in May, 1548. Having agreed to change nothing for the ſake of change, but merely to endeavour, as far as circumſtances would admit, to bring every thing back to the ſtandard of the purer ages of the Goſpel, by aboliſhing the erroneous doctrines, and in particular the

* The commiſſion is, probably, not upon record; and in the ſtatute the Archbiſhop only is named. The other commiſſioners are there called *moſt learned and diſcreet Biſhops, and other learned men of the realm.* Fuller, whoſe account is generally followed by ſubſequent writers, gives us a liſt of twelve more. But in this, as well as in other inſtances, Fuller's authority is ſomewhat queſtionable; it is certain that three of the biſhops whom he mentions proteſted againſt the bill for authoriſing the book; and ſome of the divines, whom he names, are known to have been equally unfriendly to it. If their names were on the commiſſion, it is not natural to ſuppoſe, that they afforded Cranmer and Ridley much aſſiſtance. The work probably paſſed through the hands of only a few. The common account is, that the commiſſioners were, beſide the Primate, ſix Biſhops, and ſix Divines. The biſhops were, *Day* of Chicheſter, *Goodrich* of Ely, *Skip* of Hereford, *Holbeck* of Lincoln, *Ridley* of Rocheſter, and *Thirlby* of Weſtminſter. The divines were, *May*, Dean of St. Paul's, *Taylor*, Dean of Lincoln, *Heins*, Dean of Exeter, *Robertſon*, afterward Dean of Durham, *Redman*, Maſter of Trinity College, Cambridge, and *Cox*, Almoner to the King.

unneceſſary

unneceſſary ceremonies, which Popery had introduced, they proceeded to examine the Breviaries, Miſſals, and Rituals *, together with the books of other offices at that time in uſe. Theſe they compared with ancient Liturgies, and the writings of the fathers. Whatever they found conſonant to the doctrine of Scripture, and the worſhip of early chriſtian churches, they generally retained, and frequently improved. But they rejected the numerous corruptions, and ſuperſtitious innovations that had been gradually brought in during the latter ages.

The compilers, it is generally ſaid, began with the Morning Prayer. I do not know that any one, either of our ritualiſts, or commentators on the Liturgy, has deſcribed the office of Mattins, or Morning Prayer †, as this ſervice was performed in the church of England prior to the reformation. A general, and ſummary account of it may therefore gratify curioſity, where eaſy acceſs cannot be had to the books in which it is ordained. Such an account will illuſtrate the principles upon which the leaders of our reformation proceeded: and a compariſon of *ancient* mattins, with the *mattins* in Edward's firſt book, will prove, that the object of the compilers of our Liturgy, was, according to their own account, "neither to pleaſe thoſe who were ſo addicted to their old cuſtoms, that they thought it a great matter of conſcience to depart from a piece of the leaſt of their ceremonies," nor, "on the other hand, thoſe who would innovate all things, and liked nothing that was not new ‡." They attempted "not ſo much to ſatisfy either of theſe parties, as to pleaſe God, and profit them both §."

* A general account of the contents of theſe books, and of their difference from each other, is given in p. 275 of the Elucidation in the note.

† Theſe words are ſynonimous; mattins is indeed a little obſolete, but in the *tables of leſſons for Sundays and holidays*, and of *pſalms for certain days*, it is ſtill employed to denote Morning Prayer. In theſe tables *Evenſong* likewiſe ſtands for Evening Prayer.

‡ Diſcourſe on Ceremonies. § Ibid.

Mattins, at this time, began with the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the Creed, which were ſaid with a low voice, or privately, by the prieſt and people, all kneeling. Then, all ſtanding up, the four verſicles, which in our office follow the Lord's Prayer, are ſaid with a loud voice by the prieſt and people alternately. When the prieſt pronounces the firſt verſicle, "O Lord, open thou my lips," he is directed by the rubric, with his thumb to ſign his mouth with the ſign of the croſs; and at the third verſicle, "O God, make ſpeed to ſave me," he is, with his right hand, to croſs himſelf from his forehead to his breaſt in one direction, and in a tranſverſe line from the left ſhoulder to the right. After the verſicles, follow Gloria Patri, and in general, Allelujah. Between Allelujah, and the invitatory pſalm, or Venite exultemus, comes the Invitatory, which varies according to the ſeaſon, or the day. After Venite, follows a metrical hymn. Then pſalms are recited, and leſſons read. In this part of the ſervice there is a conſiderable variety on different days: but, to enter a little farther into particulars, I ſhall ſelect the office of Mattins appointed for Chriſtmas Day.

Excepting the Invitatory, which is changeable, till the end of Venite exultemus, the order of Mattins is every day the ſame. On Chriſtmas Day an appropriate metrical hymn follows Venite. After the hymn, pſalms 2, 18, 44 are recited. At the end of each are Antiphons, or Anthems: and after the laſt, the Lord's Prayer, a precatory Abſolution, and a Benediction are ſaid. The three following leſſons from Iſaiah are then read, ch. IX to ver. 7. ch. LX to ver. 8, and ch. LII to ver. 7. At the end of each leſſon are added Reſponſes, and Gloria Patri is ſometimes ſung.

In the ſecond Nocturn *, Pſalms 47, 71, and 84 are recited, with their reſpective Anthems. After the laſt, a Re-

* The firſt Nocturn was ſometimes performed at nine, the ſecond at midnight, and the third at three; but they were more generally united, and ſaid in the morning.

ſponſe,

ſponſe, an Abſolution, and a Benediction, different from thoſe in the firſt Nocturn, are ſaid. The Lord's Prayer alſo is again repeated. Then follow three leſſons, the fourth, fifth, and ſixth, all taken from an Homily of *Leo the Great* on the Nativity *. Theſe are nearly of the ſame length with the former leſſons from Iſaiah, and each is followed by Reſponſes, Verſicles, &c. as before.

In the third Nocturn are recited Pſalms 88, 95, 97, with appropriate Anthems, &c. Theſe are ſucceeded by what is called the *reading* of the Goſpel according to St. Luke. The mode of reading will appear extraordinary. In the three laſt leſſons, the reader only indicates the Goſpels for the day †.—The ſeventh leſſon at Mattins, or the firſt in the third Nocturn, begins with Luke, ch. 11, ver. 1. but only one verſe is here read, and after it *et reliqua* is added. This verſe is followed by an extract from one of *Gregory*'s Homilies, preached on this Goſpel on Chriſtmas Day. The extract, which properly conſtitutes the leſſon, is followed by a Reſponſe, &c. The eighth leſſon begins with the recital of the 15th verſe of Luke 11, to which *et reliqua* is added as before. This is followed by a portion of a Homily by

* I here follow the Roman Breviary. In the *Portitory*, or Breviary of *Sarum*, printed in Mary's reign, the fourth Lection is taken from *Poſſidorus* on the Nativity.

† This was peculiar to Chriſtmas Day, on which there were three different epiſtles and goſpels read in the three ſeparate maſſes performed this day. The firſt was at midnight, the ſecond at the dawn, and the third at mid-day. In Edward's firſt book, the Euchariſt was *twice* celebrated on this day. In the *ſecond* communion the Introit, Collect, Epiſtle, and Goſpel, were different from thoſe of the *firſt*. (For a more diſtinct account, I refer to the ſecond volume of this work, if the power of finiſhing that volume be allowed.) In Edward's *ſecond* book, the *firſt communion* was omitted. There were likewiſe two communions on Eaſter Day. The two latter Anthems now uſed inſtead of *Venite* at Morning Prayer on this day, were then ſaid or ſung in the morning *afore Mattyns*, and *Alleluiah* followed each.

Ambroſe *, with Reſponſes, &c. The ninth leſſon is ver. 1 of ch. 1. of St. John's Goſpel, with an appropriate portion of one of *Auſtin*'s * Homilies. Then is ſaid Te Deum, Dominus vobiſcum, &c. and Mattins conclude with the collect of the day †.

By comparing this incomplete account with the Morning Prayer in Edward's firſt book, we may in general diſcover what our reformers either retained, or omitted, what they tranſpoſed, altered, or added. In the courſe of the Elucidation, I have noticed the greater part, or at leaſt the moſt material, of theſe variations, in their reſpective places.

To return to the compilers: After finiſhing the Morning and Evening Prayer they proceeded to the other parts of the Liturgy. When the whole was completed, the book was preſented by Cranmer to the young King, who received it with the higheſt marks of ſatisfaction. In the latter part of this year, 1548, and the ſecond of Edward, "the book of the Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, after the uſe of the church of England ‡," received its civil ſanction from the parliament, which enacted, "that the ſaid form of Common Prayer, and no other ſhould, after the feaſt of Pentecoſt next following, be uſed in all his Majeſty's dominions." At the enſuing Eaſter, it has been aſſerted §, that ſome

* In the office of Sarum, by an extract from one of the Homilies of *Bede*.

† Dr. Bennet, who has calculated "what quantity of our ſeveral offices is taken from Popiſh Liturgies," (under which appellation I preſume we muſt include the offices of Sarum, and of the Gallican church, as well as of the Romiſh,) informs us, that, ſetting aſide whatever is borrowed from the Scripture, the Apocrypha, or the fathers of the firſt four centuries, "there remains in the Morning Prayer about one fourteenth part." The accuracy of all his calculations I undertake not to warrant.

‡ The title of the book.

§ By Heylin, in his *Eccleſia Reſtaurata*. But as he ſeldom produces evidence, or cites the authority that he followed, I refer to him with ſome

ſome began to officiate by this book: but the aſſertion muſt be erroneous, for no copy of the book was printed till after Eaſter. On Whitſunday, 1549, the new offices were adopted by the cathedral church of St. Paul *, in obedience to the ſtatute, and as a precedent to the reſt of the kingdom.

The firſt copy of the book was printed by *Grafton*, in a handſome folio, in May, 1549. On the 16th of June appeared another elegant edition by *Whitchurch*; and on the 8th of March following, a third was publiſhed, with no material variation †.

ſome diffidence, though I believe what he ſays to be in general well founded.

* This, I apprehend, was done by order of the *dean*, Dr. *May*, one of the compilers. *Bonner*, the biſhop, continued to permit the *old maſſes* to be performed in the private chapels of the cathedral. For this and other offences he was ſummoned in June to appear before the council in Auguſt.

† I have examined copies of four editions, and find that in one of the two latter, the Litany is placed between the offices of Communion and Baptiſm, as in the two former; and that in the other, which is paged, there is no Litany. In all, the diſcourſe on ceremonies is at the end of the volume. Three of the copies to which I allude are depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum. The other, that by *Whitchurch*, is *penes me*, through the kindneſs of a friend.

The price of *Grafton*'s copy of Edward's firſt book, as ſettled by the Lord Protector and the Council, was, *two ſhillings and two-pence unbound*, and *three ſhillings and eight-pence bound in paſte, or boards, covered with calves leather*. A copy bequeathed by the honourable Arthur Onſlow to the Britiſh Muſeum, appears to have been once ſold for *one pound ſixteen ſhillings*. The price of the edition by Whitchurch, is *two ſhillings and two pence unbound*, and *four ſhillings bound*.

The price of the *ſecond* book, a very beautiful edition by *Grafton*, was *in quires two ſhillings and ſix-pence, bound in parchment, or forell, three ſhillings and four-pence, and in leather, paper boards, or claſps, four ſhillings, and not above*. It is likewiſe ordered, that the next edition, leaving out the offices of the Ordination and Conſecration of Prieſts and Biſhops, ſhall be ſold for *two ſhillings in ſheets*, for *two ſhillings and eight-pence in parchment*, and *three ſhillings and four-pence in leather*.

The Pſalms are not printed in either of Edward's books, of courſe they who read the verſes with the miniſter muſt have brought with them either a Bible, or Pſalter.

It

It has already been obſerved, that the principle of Cranmer was to proceed gradually, and with moderation *. The firſt book of Edward retained many things, which might properly enough have been omitted. But the Archbiſhop was cautious of going too far at once, and of rejecting too much of what the people had been accuſtomed to hear and ſee. Yet ſoon after the publication of this book, we find him conſulting ſuch of the foreign proteſtant divines as were moſt celebrated for their learning and moderation, on the ſubjects of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and of a farther reform in the Book of Common Prayer. But in particular, *Bucer* †, a German, and *Martyr*, a Florentine, who were now through Cranmer's recommendation, profeſſors of divinity, the former in Cambridge, the latter in Oxford, were, at his ſpecial requeſt, engaged in reviſing the Liturgy. The alterations they propoſed were in general approved by the Archbiſhop, and afterwards adopted by the divines appointed to review the former book ‡.

This

* During the whole reign of Edward, he met with continual oppoſition from Gardiner, and the leaders of the popiſh party. Gardiner controverted the doctrines contained in the Homilies, attempted to refute *Cranmer*'s treatiſe on the Sacrament, and wrote various polemical tracts againſt him. Tumults, and inſurrections, were likewiſe excited by the Romaniſts.

† *Bucer* did not come to England ſo ſoon as was expected by the Archbiſhop, and was therefore more earneſtly ſolicited by the Archbiſhop's Secretary. In June 1549, he wrote from Canterbury to *Martyr*, then at Oxford.

‡ How far Bucer's animadverſions were adopted may be diſcovered by comparing them with the firſt and ſecond books of Edward. (Buceri Scripta Anglicana, and Burnet, part ii. pages 155, 6.) The annotations of Martyr, made from *Cheke*'s incomplete Latin Verſion, are not indeed very conſiderable; but ſo far as they went, they accorded with the more copious animadverſions of Bucer, for whoſe uſe, we are informed, the Latin tranſlation by *Aleſſe*, a Scotſman, was primarily deſigned. (Burnet, ibid. Strype.) Bucer's cenſures were communicated to Martyr, who informed the Archbiſhop that his opinion agreed with Bucer's. Martyr at this time was at Lambeth, where, during the interval

This public reviſion of the Liturgy, to the improvement of which the judicious remarks made by Bucer and Martyr had eſſentially contributed, was undertaken in 1551, that is, about two years after its firſt publication. The forms of the Liturgy were now generally followed, and the prejudices againſt it ariſing from former habits, had conſiderably abated. This was therefore judged by Cranmer to be a convenient ſeaſon for the introduction of thoſe various improvements, which he had already digeſted in private with his friends. Who were the commiſſioners appointed to review the book, we are not with certainty informed: but from the ſilence of contemporary writers it has been ſuppoſed that they were

tervals allowed him from the duties of his profeſſorſhip at Oxford, he was engaged in framing, under the direction of the Archbiſhop, a ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline for the Church of England. This work was completed, but never eſtabliſhed. It was likewiſe about this time, that Cranmer communicated to Martyr, (whether the communication was made perſonally, as is moſt probable, or through Sir John Cheke, their common friend, is immaterial,) that "the biſhops, at a conference about the communion office, had agreed that many things ſhould be changed;" and added, "that if they would not do it, the King was reſolved to do it by himſelf and his parliament without them." (Martyr's Letter to Bucer in Parker's MSS. Compare the communion offices of the two books.—See Strype's Cranmer, p. 210, and 252. Collier, vol. II. p. 296, with his *Reaſons, &c.* for reſtoring the communion of the firſt book, Burnet, and moſt of the writers on eccleſiaſtical tranſactions about the year 1550.) The remarks of the ſtern Nonjuror Collier on Bucer's Animadverſions are written, neither with that ſtrict regard to hiſtoric truth, nor that candor and impartiality, which would have become the author of an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain*, and the compiler of *a Communion Office*. Bucer was acceſſary to the removal of a few forms and uſages, which were retained in the Communion Office of Edward's firſt Book. In defence of theſe, and with a view to get them re-eſtabliſhed, Collier has written ſeveral controverſial tracts.—Collier's Communion Office, both in the arrangement of its parts, and in the turn of particular ſentences, is often either the prototype, or copy of that uſed in the preſent Epiſcopalian Church of Scotland. Theſe two agree in various particulars, in which both differ materially from Edward's offices, from Elizabeth's, from the Scotiſh of 1636, and from our preſent form.

the

the ſame by whom it was originally compiled. *The Articles of Religion* *, firſt drawn up in this year, it is commonly agreed, were framed principally by Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer: and it is moſt probable that the corrections and additions in the Second Book of Common Prayer, were chiefly made by them. The *New Service*, for that was the name now given to this improved Book of Common Prayer, was authoriſed by Parliament in the beginning of April, 1552, and appointed to be every where uſed from the feaſt of *All Saints* following. On that day, *Ridley*, who upon *Bonner*'s removal, had, in April 1550, been promoted to the ſee of London, celebrated divine ſervice according to the new regulations, in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and in the forenoon preached a ſermon in the choir. The New Service was likewiſe performed on this day in moſt of the churches in London and Weſtminſter. In the afternoon, *Ridley* delivered from St. Paul's Croſs †, before the Lord Mayor,

* Theſe were nearly the ſame with our preſent *Articles*.

† This appears to have originally been a common croſs, erected near the old cathedral church. In 1449 it was rebuilt, but long before this era it had been converted into a *pulpit-croſs*. The pulpit was made of wood, and the aſcent was by ſteps of ſtone. Around the croſs were covered galleries, for the reception of the King, Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction; but by far the greateſt part of the audience ſtood expoſed to the open air. To this place, in the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, the court and the city flocked to hear ſermons. The preacher, who frequently came from either Oxford or Cambridge, was ſupplied by the Court of Aldermen, with a comfortable lodging, and other neceſſaries, for five days. Voluntary contributions were likewiſe made by the nobility and citizens, to defray the expences of his journey, and for his further ſupport. From St. Paul's Croſs, the divines in Henry's reign declaimed againſt the authority of the Pope; in Edward's, ſupported the reformation; in Mary's, defended the *old* doctrines, and modes of worſhip; and, in Elizabeth's, preached againſt the papal ſupremacy, and vindicated the principles upon which the reformation had proceeded. This pulpit was employed for other purpoſes beſide that of religious inſtruction; for at St. Paul's Croſs, laws were promulgated, or to ſpeak more correctly, the

Mayor, Aldermen, Citizens, and a numerous audience, a very long * and intereſting diſcourſe, in which he ſtated, explained and vindicated, the alterations that had been made in the Liturgy.

The improvements made at the review conſiſted of Additions and Alterations. The moſt conſiderable Additions are the following. The Sentences, Exhortation, Confeſſion, and Abſolution, were now firſt appointed to be read in the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer. The Lutheran churches of Germany already had their confeſſion and abſolution. The *Verſicles* after the Lord's Prayer were put in the plural number, and *Allelúiah*, appointed in the former book to be ſaid from Eaſter to Trinity Sunday, was omitted. Some hymns, after the leſſons, ſome occaſional prayers at the end of the Litany, and various rubrics were added. The Litany itſelf was now appointed to be uſed on Sunday, as well as on Wedneſday and Friday. The people were obſerved to approach the Lord's Table without due ſolemnity and preparation: the Ten Commandments were therefore appointed to be read after the collect in the beginning of the communion ſervice, and a ſhort petition to follow each, as a means, till diſcipline could be reſtored, of preparing the congregation, to partake worthily of the holy ſacrament. The

the royal pleaſure was announced, papal bulls publiſhed, ſinners anathematized, royal contracts of marriage notified, fallen favourites calumniated, benedictions given, oaths adminiſtered, and recantations read both by proteſtants and papiſts. Before this Croſs the faſcinating and unfortunate *Jane Shore* did penance for her only crime, *and begged that mercy man denied her here.* Of the appropriation of St. Paul's Croſs to ſome of theſe purpoſes, we read in the annals of 1259, and we are told that the laſt ſermon delivered from it, was preached before James I. on *Mid-lent* Sunday, in 1620. In 1643, the Croſs was demoliſhed by order of the Parliament. The order was executed by *Pennington*, then Lord Mayor, and afterward a convicted regicide.

* The afternoon ſermon probably began ſoon after one: and from the circumſtance's being particularly recorded, I conclude it was remarkable, that *on the firſt of November the Lord Mayor and Aldermen went home by torch-light.*

words *militant here on earth*, were annexed to the preface of the Prayer *for the whole ſtate of Chriſt's Church*; and a new *Exhortation* was compoſed, to *be uſed when the people were negligent in coming to the holy Communion.* A rubric concerning kneeling was ſubjoined to the communion. This rubric was expunged by Elizabeth, but with ſome ſlight variation was reinſtated after the reſtoration. The offices of *Ordination* likewiſe, which had been drawn up in 1549, were, with ſome few mutations, annexed to the book.

The moſt material *Alterations* were the removal of a few ceremonies and uſages retained in the firſt book, ſome of which appear to have been at leaſt ſuperfluous. Such in the office of Baptiſm were, the Sign of the Croſs made on the Child's breaſt; the *Exorciſm*, or the form of Adjuration, *commanding the unclean and curſed Spirit to depart*; the two laſt interrogatories, the repetition of immerſion three times, *firſt dipping the right ſide, then the left, then the face toward the font*; the *putting upon the Child his* (or her) *white veſture*, commonly called the *Chriſom*, with the addreſs to the Child on the occaſion; and the *anointing* of the Child, with the prayer for *the unction of the holy Spirit.* Such likewiſe were the uſe of oil, with the ſign of the croſs, in confirmation, and extreme unction at the viſitation of the ſick. In the *churching of women*, the rubric concerning the *Chriſom* was omitted, and the former title, *purification of women*, was altered. Prayers for the dead, both in the communion and burial offices, were expunged.

The order of the Communion Office in general was materially altered; and the arrangement of ſome parts of it was tranſpoſed. In the title, the words *commonly called the maſs* were expunged; and the concluſion of the *prayer for the whole ſtate of Chriſt's Church*, in which praiſe and thanks were given for *the wonderful grace declared in the bleſſed Virgin, and all the ſaints*, was partly omitted, and partly altered. In the Prayer of Conſecration, the petition for the ſanctification of the elements was probably thought capable

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of a conſtruction favourable to the notion of the real preſence; and on this account, the words, *Hear us, we beſeech thee, O merciful Father; and with thy holy Spirit and Word vouchſafe to bleſs and ſanctify theſe thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy moſt dearly beloved Son, Jeſus Chriſt, who, in the ſame night*, &c. were changed into, *Hear us, O merciful Father, we moſt humbly beſeech thee, and grant that we receiving theſe thy creatures of bread, and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's holy inſtitution, in remembrance of his death and paſſion, may be partakers of his moſt bleſſed body and blood, who, in the ſame*, &c. The croſſings made over the elements, at the repetition of the words *bleſs* and *ſanctify*, were laid aſide. The rubric, enjoining the *indicative* form of abſolution to be uſed in private confeſſions, was left out, as was alſo that directing *a little pure, and clean water to be put to the wine* in the chalice*.

Between the two books there is another remarkable difference, which deſerves particular notice. In the firſt book, the words ſpoken by the prieſt at the delivery of the bread, are, *The body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for thee, preſerve thy body and ſoul unto everlaſting life.* In the ſecond book the words are, *Take and eat this in remembrance that Chriſt died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thankſgiving.* Again, when the cup is preſented, the form in the firſt book is, *The blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy body and ſoul unto everlaſting life:* but in the ſecond, *Drink this in remembrance that Chriſt's blood was ſhed for thee, and be thankful.*

In very ancient Liturgies, there was a ſmall portion of a pſalm, or ſome other part of ſcripture, appropriate to the ſervice of the day, prefixed to the collect, before the epiſtle

* The mixing of water with the wine is a very ancient, as well as a very general practice. But this being a human inſtitution, our church, which in common with others, has "the power of decreeing rites and ceremonies" for itſelf, omitted it.—xx Art. of Religion.

and goſpel. This being ſung by the choir, at the time of the prieſt's entrance within the rails of the altar, was in ſome churches called the *Ingreſs*, (Ingreſſus) but more commonly, the *Introit* (Introitus)*. This part of the ſervice, being perfectly unexceptionable, and when properly performed, highly affecting, was retained in the firſt book: why it was rejected in the ſecond, it is not eaſy to aſſign either the true, or a good reaſon. The want however of the Introit may be conſidered, as in ſome degree ſupplied in pariſh churches by a portion of a metrical pſalm †, ſung

* In the Liturgy, aſcribed to *Ambroſe*, and uſed at *Milan*, it is called *Ingreſſus*: but in the *Saliſbury*, *Gallican*, and *Roman* miſſals, *Introitus*. *Durantus* ſays, *Introitus* dicitur, quod a choro canitur, ſacerdote *introeunte* ad altare. (de rit.)

Introitus miſſæ quem chorus ante canit. (Ibid.)

† At the time of this review, *Sternhold*, a groom of the privy chamber, had tranſlated thirty-ſeven of the pſalms into Engliſh metre, which he ſet to muſic, and ſung to his organ. Edward, it is ſaid, was delighted with the muſic, and this occaſioned the publication of theſe pſalms, which were dedicated to the King. The ſucceſs of *Sternhold* encouraged *Hopkins*, who was likewiſe a gentleman of the privy chamber, and others, to attempt, as *Heylin* ſays, the *execution* of the reſt in the ſame way. This metrical verſion, firſt allowed in private devotion, was gradually introduced into the church; having been probably admitted under the ſanction of a clauſe of the firſt Act for Uniformity, which makes it *lawful for all men in churches, and chapels, openly to uſe any pſalm, or prayer, taken out of the Bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the ſervice, or any part thereof, mentioned in the ſaid book* of Common Prayer, &c. This conjecture is ſupported by the title of theſe pſalms, *ſet forth and allowed to be ſung in all churches before and after morning and evening prayer, and alſo before and after ſermons.* The *general* opinion however is, that they were admitted rather by connivance, than by legal authority. When in the next century the puritannical party gained ſtrength and confidence, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, were in moſt churches excluded, and theſe ſinging pſalms introduced in their places. But ſome modern diſciples of the old puritans have, in a great meaſure, rejected the two authoriſed metrical verſions of the pſalms, *both before and after prayers, and ſermons*, in favour of compoſitions commonly inferior, and often of a very unhallowed caſt.

before

before the communion, and in cathedrals by a pſalm, or anthem.

By theſe, and a few other Additions and Alterations, all of which it would be too tedious to ſpecify, our public offices were brought nearly to their preſent ſtate. In ſubſequent reviews, as in the courſe of the narrative, we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, the Liturgy received ſome farther improvements. But they were not of ſufficient moment to affect the leading features of the work. If we except ſome additional prayers, and occaſional forms that have ſince been inſerted, the difference between Edward's Second Book, and the preſent, conſiſts principally in verbal, or rubrical variations, moſt of which were made for the ſake of removing ambiguities.

When we conſider the purity and excellence of this Liturgy, and its favourable reception, we are naturally led, to reflect upon the ſatisfaction and pleaſure, with which its venerable authors muſt have contemplated the ſucceſsful iſſue of their labours; and to indulge a ſecret wiſh that they had been permitted to enjoy upon earth a protracted ſenſe of ſo ſublime a gratification.—But ſcarce was this ſalutary work completed, when the premature death of Edward made way for the elevation of Mary to the throne, and the re-eſtabliſhment of popery in this kingdom.

Though we muſt lament the fate of ſuch men, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and execrate the memory of Mary for bringing to the ſtake, prelates, to whom the reformation is ſo eſſentially indebted, yet we have reaſon to rejoice, that her reign was not of ſufficient duration to deſtroy the fruits of their pious induſtry, and to reſtore the ſuperſtition, and tyranny of the church of Rome, which were now ſo juſtly dreaded and abhorred.

At the acceſſion of Elizabeth the hopes of the nation began to revive. This princeſs diſplayed conſummate prudence in the means employed to re-eſtabliſh the proteſtant doctrines and worſhip. The biſhops and clergy, who had been exiled

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in the former reign, were immediately recalled, but not reſtored; and all who had been impriſoned on account of religion were ſet at liberty, while the papiſts were neither perſecuted, nor diſpoſſeſſed of their eccleſiaſtical preferments, nor in any way diſcountenanced.

To repreſs the violence of ſome proteſtants, who thought the Queen proceeded too ſlowly, and who appeared diſpoſed to take the buſineſs of a national reform into their own hands: and more particularly perhaps, to put a ſtop to the acrimonious invectives of the Romaniſts, againſt *Hereſy*, *Schiſm*, and *Innovation*, with which their pulpits now reſounded, all preaching without a licence was prohibited by a royal proclamation, and licences were granted only to a few of the leading and more moderate proteſtant divines. And they were likewiſe forbid to meddle with any point in controverſy, or to touch upon any ſubject that might irritate men's paſſions. This order was ſo ſtrictly executed, that no ſermon was preached at St. Paul's Croſs, or in any other public place in London, except the Lent Sermons in the Queen's Chapel, and thoſe at the *Spittal*, till the enſuing Eaſter*. By a ſecond proclamation iſſued December 27, 1558, and publiſhed the next day in the City by the Lord Mayor, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Com-

* The Court preachers in Lent, whoſe names are known, were *Cox*, *Parker*, afterward Archbiſhop, *Scory*, *Whitehead*, *Grindal*, and *Sandys*: the Spittal preachers were, *Bill*, *Cox*, and *Horn*. From the appointment of theſe preachers, the Queen's diſpoſition towards the reformation may eaſily be diſcerned. On Low-Sunday, *Sampſon* preached at St. Paul's Croſs the *Rehearſal* Sermon. But the key of the pulpit was miſſing, and after the door was broken down by a ſmith, it was diſcovered that the place, either by long *diſuſe*, or *miſuſe*, *had contracted ſo much filth and naſtineſs, that, till it was cleanſed, and made ſweet, it was*, in the language of *Heylin*, *unfit for any other preacher*. The reader that is acquainted with *Peter Heylin*'s manner, will not require to be told, that *Sampſon*'s ſubſequent nonconformity provoked this ſarcaſm. Miſhaps ſimilar to what befel *Sampſon* often attended both papiſts and proteſtants about this time, occaſioned, no doubt, by their mutual animoſities.

mandments; the Litany; and at High Maſs, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, were required to be read in Engliſh *; but no Expoſition of them was permitted. All churches were commanded to follow the practice of the Chapel Royal, where the elevation of the Hoſt was forbidden. Theſe were the only changes that were for ſome time made in public worſhip. In every other reſpect, the Rubrics of the Breviaries, Miſſals, and Rituals of the late reign were ordained, till the matter ſhould be further conſidered by the Queen and Parliament †.

But Elizabeth, or at leaſt her proteſtant counſellors, the moſt eminent of whom were Cecil ‡, Bacon §, and Smith ‖, were ſecretly deliberating, upon the means of effectually reſtoring the reformed religion; and of executing this enterpriſe, which from the circumſtances of the times, was peculiarly arduous ¶, in a way, leaſt offenſive to the opponents of the Engliſh proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and at the ſame time, leaſt dangerous to the Queen's government.

Some of the parties admitted to this private deliberation, drew up in the end of December, an inſtrument, in which are queſtions and anſwers to this effect,—When ſhall the alterations be attempted? In the next Parliament.—What danger may enſue? From Rome, France, Spain, Ireland,

* This was done in the London churches, on the next Sunday, New-year's Day.

† Camden, Heylin, Burnet, Collier, Strype.

‡ Sir William, afterwards Lord Burleigh, who had been in office in Edward's reign, and was the friend of Cranmer. He was now a ſtrenuous advocate for the reformation; and to his ſuperior abilities, and influence with the Queen, we muſt attribute its being ſo ſpeedily and happily effected. He ſpeaks of himſelf as *cominus dimicans* in eſtabliſhing it. (Strype, An. p. 82.)

§ Sir Nicholas, the Lord Keeper.

‖ Sir Thomas, who had been Secretary of State to Edward, and was greatly reſpected by Cranmer.

¶ The Papiſts were powerful, and the Lutherans, (ſee note firſt, p. liii.) as well as the Calviniſts, were numerous.

Scotland, and many here at home.—What remedy? An anſwer is given as to Rome, France, &c.—What the manner of proceeding? Certain learned men, Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, Pilkington, with Sir Thomas Smith, ſhall draw up a book, or form, which ſhall be preſented to the Queen, and with her approbation laid before Parliament.—What order to be uſed in the realm in the *interim?* To make no farther alteration than the Queen has already done in the proclamation of December 27.—To theſe proceedings four noblemen were to be made privy, before they were opened to the whole council. The laſt article relates to the proviſion of food, and other neceſſaries for the reviewers, and appoints the place of meeting to be at Smith's lodging in Chanon-row.—Upon this plan the proteſtant members of the council evidently proceeded. The deſign is ſaid to have been formed by *Smith*, and he certainly was principally concerned in the execution of it. The inſtrument appoints *Smith to call theſe learned men together, and to be among them: and after conſultation with them to draw in other apt men of learning and credit, to have their aſſents* *.

At the ſame time *Gueſt* was privately employed by *Cecil* in reviſing Edward's Book of Common Prayer. The grand object of *Cecil* was to make the offices in general, and that of the *Communion* in particular, acceptable to the Roman Catholics, and yet not to ſacrifice any one principle of the reformation. Of *Gueſt* little elſe is known, than that he was Dean of Canterbury, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Rocheſter and Saliſbury. He appears however to have been equally learned and judicious. To him *Cecil* ſubmitted the following queries;—Whether it might not be proper to review the firſt, rather than the ſecond Book of Edward, or at leaſt to re-eſtabliſh ſome ceremonies and forms, which appear in the former, but not in the latter. He enquires, whether the

* See *Camden, Burnet*, Vol. II. Collection of Records, p. 327. *Strype*, Annals, Vol. I. p. 52. and Append. No. IV.

image of the Croſs may not be innocently retained in churches: proceſſions lawfully uſed; and a cope beſides the ſurplice, worn by the clergy at the celebration of the Communion: whether prayers for the dead, and a form of invoking the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Elements may not be continued, together with the delivery of the Euchariſt into the mouth of the Communicant*? To theſe queſtions ſatisfactory anſwers were returned by Gueſt†, and the ceremonies propoſed by Cecil were omitted in the Book prepared by the Commiſſioners to be laid before Parliament.

The Commiſſioners were *Parker*, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe place was ſupplied by *Gueſt*, when Parker was indiſpoſed, *Cox* and *May*, who are ſaid to have been two of the compilers of Edward's firſt Book, and lived in exile during Mary's reign, *Grindal*, ſucceſſively Biſhop of London, York, and Canterbury, *Bill*, the Queen's Almoner, *Pilkington*, and *Whitehead* together with Sir *Thomas Smith*.

This Committee entered upon the buſineſs of the Review in December 1558, and finiſhed it in April following; in which month a Bill for "Uniformity in the Service of the Church," authoriſing Edward's Book of Common Prayer, with a few alterations and additions, was introduced into the lower houſe of parliament. To facilitate the paſſing of this

* In ſome of theſe queries, Cecil evidently had an eye to the *Auguſtan*, or *Auſburgh Confeſſion*, which at this time many wiſhed to ſee adopted by the church of England. It permitted crucifixes to be retained, and the wafer to be put into the mouth of the communicant, and acknowledged a real and ſubſtantial preſence in the Euchariſt. On this ſubject *Bullenger* writes to his friend; Video et in *Anglia* non modicas oboriturus turbas, ſi, quod quidam (rem indigniſſimam multis modis,) poſtulant, recipiatur *Auguſtana* Confeſſio. Vexat hoc omnes eccleſias ſinceriores—Cave, & adjuta ne recipiatur. Satisfecit piis *Edwardi* reformatio.

† Collier does not admit this: but ſee note, p. XLIII. Strype has inſerted *Gueſt*'s Reply, No. 14. Append. Annals, Vol. I.

bill into a law, a public conference, or diſputation, had been appointed to be previouſly held, in Weſtminſter Abbey, between eight, nine, or ten biſhops, or dignified clergymen on the part of the papiſts, and an equal number of proteſtant divines. The queſtions to be argued were theſe three.

1. Whether it is againſt the word of God, and the cuſtom of the ancient church, to uſe a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments?

2. Whether every church has authority to appoint, aboliſh, and change ceremonies and eccleſiaſtical rites, provided the ſame be done to edification?

3. Whether it can be proved by the word of God, that in the maſs there is offered up a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and dead?

The papiſts were to defend the negative of the firſt, and the affirmative of the laſt propoſition; and the proteſtants the affirmative of the ſecond. That the audience might be better enabled to judge of the force of the arguments on each ſide, it was reſolved that the diſputation ſhould be held in Engliſh, and to avoid the confuſion commonly attending verbal debate, both parties agreed to conduct the conference by writing. The biſhops were in the firſt place to read their paper on the firſt queſtion, and then the reformed theirs; after which the papers were to be mutually exchanged that they might be reciprocally anſwered the next day. The ſame method was to be obſerved in the diſcuſſion of the other queſtions. Preliminaries being thus ſettled, *Bacon* the Lord Keeper, who preſided as moderator, not however to determine any thing on any point in controverſy, but ſimply to ſee that the diſpute was conducted in order, and according to the forms agreed upon, took the chair on the 30th of March, in the preſence of the Lords of the Council, the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, and a numerous concourſe of other auditors. The Biſhops produced no documents in writing, pretending that they had miſtaken the order:

order: they ſaid however that they were prepared to argue the firſt propoſition. The truth is, they had determined to give up no papers to the *Heretics*. The Preſident reproved their departure from the agreement, but permitted them to proceed, upon the promiſe that they would put their arguments in writing, and deliver them to the other party. *Cole*, Dean of St. Paul's, then delivered a long diſcourſe, in which he endeavoured to juſtify the performance of divine ſervice in the Latin language. After he had finiſhed, the Biſhops were aſked whether they had any thing more to advance on the firſt queſtion, and having anſwered in the negative, the Moderator required the Proteſtants to read their paper. It was accordingly read, and delivered, having been previouſly ſubſcribed, to the Lord Keeper, to be by him preſented to the Papiſts, that they might write their reply.

Of the contents of this paper it may be expected that I ſhould give a ſummary account. It began with a ſhort prayer for illumination, or right judgment, and a ſolemn aſſeveration that the proteſtant divines were reſolved to be guided by the written word of God. In the Exordium they profeſs great regard for the catholic church, and entire acquieſcence in the Articles of the three Creeds. To the Scriptures and the catholic church, they refer the whole controverſy. But by *catholic* church they declare they do not underſtand the church of *Rome*, and they adopt from the Latin fathers a definition of the church, not unlike that given in our xxth Article of Religion. By ſcripture they mean *canonical* ſcripture, and by the cuſtom of the primitive church, they underſtand its general practice for the firſt five centuries. They proceed to ſtate the queſtion, and affirm, that common prayer in an unknown tongue, is contrary, 1. to the word of God; and 2. to the cuſtom of the primitive church.

The firſt propoſition they very ſucceſsfully ſupport, and chiefly from paſſages in the fourteenth chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians; and they illuſtrate their reaſoning with arguments drawn from the principles of natural reaſon,

as well as from the practice of the Jewiſh church, and the Pagan world.

The ſecond propoſition is proved from *Juſtin Martyr*'s Apology, from ancient Liturgies, and from the works of *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, *Cyprian*, *Jerom*, and *Auſtin*. To theſe they ſubjoin the edict of *Juſtinian*, which commands the office of Baptiſm, and the prayers in the Euchariſt, to be pronounced with a loud voice, that the people may hear, and be aſſiſted in their devotions; which benefit, the Emperor obſerves, the people cannot have, unleſs they underſtand what is ſaid. The proteſtant divines then revert to St. Paul's reaſoning, and conclude their diſcourſe with expreſſing their wonder that ſuch an abuſe, as public worſhip in a language not underſtood, ſhould have ever crept into the church, and their aſtoniſhment that thoſe, who would wiſh to be thought guides, and paſtors, were ſo unwilling to return to the rule of St. Paul, and the practice of the primitive times *.

During the reading of the paper, the audience diſcovered viſible marks of ſatisfaction, and as ſoon as it was finiſhed, many of them expreſſed their approbation by ſhouts of applauſe. This prompted the Biſhops to allege to the Moderator, in direct contradiction to their former anſwer, that they had more to ſay on the firſt queſtion. To remove every pretence for complaint, the conference was adjourned. At the next meeting the Biſhops refuſed to adhere to their own propoſals, and went ſo far as to ſay, that what *Cole* had delivered was not agreed to by them. They railed againſt *Bacon*, and the *Council*, for permitting *Heretics* to diſcourſe on points of faith before the unlearned multitude. In ſhort, after much acrimonious invective on the part of the Romaniſts, for which two out of the nine were committed to the Tower, and others bound to appear before the Council, the conference was diſſolved.

* The proteſtant diſputants were *Scory*, late Biſhop of Chicheſter, *Cox*, late Dean of Weſtminſter, *Horn*, late Dean of Durham, *Aylmer*, *Whitehead*, *Gueſt*, *Jewell*, and *Grindal*.

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The prevarication and petulance of the Biſhops were at leaſt as injurious to their cauſe, as any arguments brought by their adverſaries. Their refuſal at the outſet to comply with the terms on which it was mutually ſtipulated that the diſputation ſhould be conducted, their ſubſequent deviation from the appointment propoſed by themſelves, and at laſt their declining to proceed further in the debate, betrayed to the more judicious part of the auditory, a conſciouſneſs of the weakneſs of their ſide of the queſtion, and of their inability to defend it: whilſt the inſults offered to the Lord Keeper, who preſided with impartiality, and extraordinary moderation toward them, and the threatenings of excommunication denounced againſt their Sovereign, and her Council, which were in no way connected with the ſubject of the conference, ſhewed, even to the populace, the intolerant ſpirit of themſelves, and of their religious ſyſtem. What completed the defeat of the Biſhops, was, their attempt to ſilence argument by authority, and their final appeal to the Pope.

The triumph thus gained by the Proteſtants, ſecured and accelerated the paſſing of the *Bill for Uniformity*. It was read in the Houſe of Commons on the 18th of April: on the 19th it was read the ſecond time, and ordered to be engroſſed: on the 20th the third time, and paſſed. On the 25th it was brought into the Houſe of Lords, where it was read on the 26th, 27th, and 28th *. On the 29th the royal aſſent was given †.

* In the Upper Houſe it met with all the oppoſition, that the bench of Biſhops, and a few of the Lay Lords, could make againſt it. At this time ſome of Mary's Biſhops were dead, and others were not appointed to the vacant ſees. Out of the ſixteen now living, ten were preſent, and diſſented; the other ſix gave their vote againſt the Bill by proxy. This accounts for the words *Aſſent of the Lords*, without the uſual addition of *Spiritual and Temporal*, in the Act of Uniformity, where *the Lords Spiritual* are not mentioned. Strype, Blackſtone, book 1, ch. 2.

† Of what was done by the *Convocation* I take no notice, and for this reaſon: the proteſtant clergy, being at this time *depoſed*, could not be preſent.

It

It is likewiſe remarkable, that in the progreſs of this Bill only one amendment was made. The divines who drew it up had left the people at liberty to receive the Communion either ſtanding or kneeling. The more ancient, as well as more common uſage, was to communicate ſtanding; but the poſture of kneeling, which had been uſual in England, was enjoined by Parliament.

The Act required that the Engliſh Service ſhould take place on the 24th of June, the day of St. John the *Baptiſt*: but by the advice of her Majeſty's Proteſtant Counſellors, it was performed in the Royal Chapel on the 12th of May, the very firſt Sunday after the diſſolution of the Parliament, and above forty days before the feaſt of the *Baptiſt*. The Council, no doubt, anticipated the refuſal of the Biſhops *, and the backwardneſs of ſome of the clergy to officiate by the legal form: and therefore to give an example to the reſt of the nation, ordered the Engliſh Liturgy to be uniformly uſed in the Queen's Chapel for ſome weeks before it was enjoined by the Act to be univerſally adopted.

Of the alterations made at this Review, the following are the moſt conſiderable. The Ordinary may appoint the place where the Morning and Evening Prayer ſhall be read: hitherto it had commonly been read in the Chancel. To put a ſtop to diſputes that had ariſen about the form and ſituation of the Altar, or Communion Table, Chancels are ordered *to remain as they have done in times paſt* †. Some ornaments of

* All the Biſhops afterward refuſed to take the Oath of Supremacy required by law, and were of courſe deprived, one only excepted, and to mention his name were to diſgrace it. This man conformed in Edward's reign, was a perſecutor of proteſtants while Mary lived, and continued to hold his biſhoprick under Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. 12 Deans, 12 Archdeacons, 15 Maſters of Colleges, 50 Prebendaries, and about 80 Rectors and Vicars were likewiſe deprived. The whole number, including the 15 Biſhops, did not amount to 200.

† In Edward's firſt Book, the Prieſt, at the Communion, was directed to ſtand *before the midſt of the* ALTAR; that is, with his face toward

of the Church, and habits worn by the Miniſters, which had been removed by Edward's ſecond Book, were replaced. Proper *firſt* leſſons were appointed for Sundays *; for, till this Review, thoſe for the day of the month in the Kalendar had been uſed on Sunday, as well as on ordinary days. To conciliate the Romaniſts, the deprecation in the Litany *to be delivered from the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities* was cancelled. In this office the interceſſions for the Queen were likewiſe added. Towards the end of the Litany were inſerted *A Prayer for the Queen's Majeſty*, and another *for the Clergy and People*, but without any title annexed to either: together with that beginning *O God, whoſe Nature and Property is ever to have Mercy, and to forgive.* This laſt had been retained in various Primers, but had no place in either of Edward's Books †. In Elizabeth's it is, without

toward the eaſt, and his back to the people: but in the ſecond Book at the *north ſide of the* TABLE. From the very eſtabliſhment of the reformation, from the days of *Ridley* to the death of *Laud*, and the Subverſion of the Church, unhappy altercations exiſted reſpecting the ſite and form of the Communion Table. After the reſtoration, no poſitive injunctions concerning theſe matters, were enforced by authority, and all diſputes about them, ſoon died away. This moderation produced that general uniformity, which compulſive methods were in vain employed to enforce. *Chancels* are now commonly *railed in*, and the table is placed *Altar-wiſe*; that is, near the wall at the eaſtern extremity of the building.

* This regulation, though highly proper in its principle, thwarts the intention of the firſt reformers, and in ſome degree contradicts a poſition in *their* preface, reſpecting the Kalendar. When the appointment of proper leſſons for Sundays took place, ſtrict conſiſtency required, that the clauſe, concerning the *uninterrupted* reading of the Old Teſtament, ſhould have been a little more modified.

† A ſtrange fatality has attended this valuable Collect. That ſince 1662 it has been commonly diſplaced, and is at preſent ſeldom read, I have remarked in the Elucidation. Neither are our writers agreed on the time of its introduction into the Common Prayer. Nicholls has inadvertently ſaid that "it was brought in in the firſt (year, or Book) of James." Biſſe notes the miſtake, and falls into one leſs natural. He affirms that it was in Edward's *Second* Book, and even pretends to aſſign

without any title, or rubric, ſubjoined to the prayer "in time of common plague, or ſickneſs." It is of courſe the laſt prayer in the Litany, and allowing for the blank, or chaſm, which properly disjoins offices, then ſeparate and diſtinct, and uſed at different times, it immediately precedes the collects, epiſtles and goſpels, read in the communion office: for neither the prayer for *parliament*, nor that for *all ſorts and conditions of men*, nor any of the *thankſgivings*, were yet compoſed.

The rubric at the end of the Communion, in the ſecond Book of Edward, which expreſsly denied the corporal preſence *, was omitted, for the ſame reaſon that the deprecation in the Litany was expunged. Some other unimportant variations were made. At the delivery of the elements in the Euchariſt, the two different forms, appointed in the firſt and ſecond Books of Edward, were united, as they ſtill remain. And in order to deviate ſtill leſs from the forms of

aſſign the place where it ſtood. What would be more extraordinary were it true, we are told that it was agreed by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners of 1689 that this prayer "ſhould be thrown out, as full of ſtrange and impertinent expreſſions, and beſides not in the original, but foiſted in by another hand." *Birch*, in his Life of *Tillotſon*, repeats this upon the authority of *Calamy*. The original papers of the Commiſſioners were depoſited, it is ſaid, in the Archives at Lambeth, and Calamy had not acceſs to them. Again Calamy's account contradicts that given by others, whoſe means of information were at leaſt equal to his.—Very little indeed is publicly known of the proceedings of the Commiſſioners; and to me it appears very improbable that *Burnet*, *Patrick*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Tillotſon* ſhould have aſſented to the reſolution quoted above.

* We do declare that it is not meant thereby (by kneeling at the time of receiving the Sacrament) that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the ſacramental bread or wine, there bodily received, or unto any real or eſſential preſence there being of Chriſt's natural fleſh and blood: for as concerning the ſacramental bread and wine, they remain ſtill in their very natural ſubſtances, and may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Chriſtians; and as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, they are in Heaven, and not here, &c. Edward's ſecond Book.

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the church of Rome, the Queen's Injunctions ordered, that the ſacramental bread, which the Rubric required only to be made of the fineſt wheaten flour, ſhould be made round like the wafers lately uſed in private maſſes *.

This comprehenſive plan, added to the Queen's manifeſt attachment to uſages †, that had obtained under the *ancient* eſtabliſhment, induced many of the Roman Catholics to continue to join in the communion of the eſtabliſhed church. Even the Pope was ready to give his ſanction to the Liturgy, and to aſſent to the uſe of the communion in both kinds, provided the Queen would acknowledge his ſupremacy ‡; and it was not till after a conformity of more than ten years, that the Roman Catholics withdrew to ſeparate congregations §.

The Reformation appeared now, not only to have completely triumphed over Popery, but uniformity of worſhip likewiſe ſeemed to be *generally* eſtabliſhed in this kingdom. But the Puritans, who, during the life of Elizabeth, had, in a great degree, been awed into acquieſcence, were, by the acceſſion of James, encouraged to avow their principles more

* Queen's Injunctions, in Sparrow's Collect. p. 85.

† She had been prevailed upon to enjoin that *Images*, *Lights*, and *Crucifixes* ſhould be removed from places of divine worſhip, in order to prevent the groſs ſuperſtition, and idolatry which the abuſe of them had occaſioned: *ſhe retained nevertheleſs, in her own chapel, a crucifix and lighted tapers in divine ſervice.* (Strype's Parker, p. 46.) By the repeated addreſſes of Parker, and others, the Queen is ſaid *to have been brought off from the fancy of images:* and ſhe certainly *ſhewed herſelf*, (that is, perhaps, affected to be) *highly diſguſted* at the ſight of ſome ornamental pictures, placed before the epiſtles and goſpels in a Book of Common Prayer, laid before her at St. Paul's, by order of *Nowel* the Dean, and intended by him for a New-Year's gift to her Majeſty. (Id. ibid. p. 97.) On her attachment to *Altars*, ſee Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 162; to Images, p. 172, 3, with Burnet, &c.

‡ This is aſſerted by Heylin on the authority of Camden, who, he obſerves, had all his choice intelligence from Cecil. Reform, p. 303, 4. But the *Queen* and the *Pope* both knew that the *Legitimacy* of the one could not be maintained, if the *Supremacy* of the other were admitted.

§ Heylin, Strype, Burnet, Collier.

openly.

openly *. To this monarch they preſented an addreſs, which is uſually diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *millenary* petition. The title is meant to import that it was ſubſcribed by a *thouſand* miniſters, though in reality it was not ſigned by more than three-fourths of that number.

In this petition they complain of the ſervice, government, and diſcipline of the church of England, and pray for a reform of what they call abuſes. From what James had himſelf ſeen in their Scotiſh brethren, he knew the puritanical clergy too well to be deluded by their ſpecious pretences: and whatever hopes his former profeſſions of attachment to the church of Scotland might have excited, he was too prudent a monarch to attempt any innovation of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of the church, of which he was now SUPREME HEAD, without a cogent reaſon for the change †. Willing however to gratify the Puritans, as far as a propoſal to hear what they had to allege in favour of their non-conformity could gratify them, he gave orders for a conference to be held at Hampton Court, between ſome ſelect biſhops of the eſtabliſhment, and the leading characters among the diſſenters. James, attended by the *Lord Chancellor*, *Attorney-General*, and others, preſided in perſon, as *moderator*, or rather, if we impartially examine his conduct and deciſions, as *magiſterial*

* Many of the clergy, who had ſpent their time of exile in countries which conformed to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of Geneva, returned to England, diſaffected to the epiſcopal government; and were diſſatisfied with the rites and ceremonies afterward eſtabliſhed by law. From their pretending to greater *purity*, in the ſervice of God, than was held forth (as they alleged) in the Book of Common Prayer; and from their carrying their oppoſition to the rites and uſages of the Romiſh church, further than was conſiſtent with the Conſtitution, or agreeable to the moderation of the church of England, they were firſt called *Puritans*, in the year 1564.

† In the courſe of the debate at *Hampton Court*, James remarked that, *if the Biſhops were out, and the Puritans in, he knew what would become of his Supremacy. No Biſhops, no King*, was a favourite apothegm with him at this conference. In Scotland he had ſtiled the *Engliſh Liturgy*, an *ill-ſaid maſs*, a *popiſh ſervice without the croſſings*.

dictator.

dictator. On this occaſion, fulſome compliments were made to James by ſome of the Lords and Biſhops. One of them ſaid that his Majeſty ſpoke by the *inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt*. And ſeveral of our writers dwell with apparent pleaſure on the uncommon learning and abilities, with which the King condeſcended to plead the cauſe of the eſtabliſhment. But, in theſe commendations, there ſeems to be, at leaſt, as much flattery as truth. Towards the cloſe of the conference, which laſted three days, the monarch told the Puritans, that "he would have none of their *arguing* *, and that if they did not conform, and quickly too, they ſhould *hear* of it †."

Though the Puritans gained nothing for themſelves by this conference, yet their complaints occaſioned the order for the preſent tranſlation of the Bible; and their pointing out ſome imperfections in the Liturgy, gave riſe to ſeveral alterations. In the Rubric before the Abſolution, the words, "or remiſſion of ſins," were added, "by way of explanation ‡." In the Morning and Evening Prayer a collect, and in the Litany a particular interceſſion, were appointed for the Royal Family. At the end of the Litany were added forms of thankſgiving on various occaſions §: for rain, and for

* Yet the parties met for the purpoſe of *arguing* the points in diſpute, before the royal Moderator.

† At the end of the ſecond day's conference, James, ariſing from his chair, obſerved to the courtiers, *If this be all they have to ſay, I'll make them conform, or I'll Harry them out of the land, or I'll do worſe.*

‡ It is curious and ſingular that theſe words, "or remiſſion," now added at the ſuggeſtion of the non-conformiſt *by way of explanation*, the more learned commiſſioners of 1689 ſhould have agreed *to put out, as not very intelligible*. Birch's Tillotſon.

§ "The want of particular thankſgivings for the benefits for which there are prayers," was objected by *Cartwright*, and others, in the reign of Elizabeth. *Hooker* attempts to defend the omiſſion, and accuſes his adverſaries of "waving in and out." He repreſents them, "as not reſolved what to think, ſpeak, or write, more than only that, ſince they have taken it upon them, they muſt be oppoſite." (Eccl. Pol. book v. ch. 43.) *Hooker* appears here to argue from the principle, that whatever

for fair weather; for plenty, and for peace, and deliverance from our enemies; for reſtoring public peace at home; and for deliverance from the plague, or other common ſickneſs.

In the office for private baptiſm, the Rubric, which might have been ſuppoſed to countenance Lay-baptiſm, was corrected, and the adminiſtration confined to the lawful miniſter. The title of the office of confirmation was enlarged, and rendered more explicit. At the end of the catechiſm were ſubjoined all the queſtions and anſwers concerning the ſacraments. Some other improvements were likewiſe made. It has been diſputed, but at this day it will hardly admit of a queſtion, whether theſe regulations were made by competent authority. They were agreed upon, only by the king and ſome of the biſhops, but were not either in this, or the ſucceeding reign, ratified by parliament.

At the acceſſion of Charles I., no particular attempt was made to improve the Liturgy. New editions were printed from the amended copy of the preceding reign, with the alteration of the names of the King and Royal Family. In the Rubrics, the word *prieſt* was occaſionally put for *miniſter*. And, in the courſe of this reign, the introductory words of the prayer for the Royal Family, "which haſt promiſed to be a father of thine elect, and of their ſeed," were changed into their preſent form. Some other alterations, either verbal, or unimportant, were made by the ſpecial order of the King.

In this reign, however, a reformed Liturgy was publiſhed for the uſe of Scotland, which the court fondly hoped would be brought back not only to Epiſcopacy, but to a near con-

ever is eſtabliſhed, is right, and muſt be defended in whatever way it can. *L'Eſtrange*, who wrote after the occaſional thankſgivings were inſerted, does not think *Hooker*'s defence quite ſatisfactory. He ſays, that "the ſuperadding of the thankſgivings was not only commendable, but a neceſſary act." (Alliance, laſt Obſervation on ch. IV.) Subſequent ritualiſts agree with *L'Eſtrange*; and ſince the introduction of the forms of thankſgiving, I do not know that the opinion of *Hooker*, on this point, has had a ſingle advocate.

formity,

formity, both in worſhip and diſcipline, to the model of the Engliſh eſtabliſhment.

Though the form of the Scotiſh Liturgy was drawn up by epiſcopalian divines in that kingdom, the work muſt be regarded, in a conſiderable degree at leaſt, as the production of Archbiſhop Laud *. The preface explains the propriety, and maintains the neceſſity of a "preſcript form of Common Prayer." It thus apologiſes for having "followed the ſervice book of England. Being of one true profeſſion, and united by many bonds, we thought meet to adhere to their form, even in the feſtivals, and ſome other rites, not as yet received, nor obſerved in our church, rather than by omitting them, to give the adverſary to think, that we diſliked any part of their ſervice. Our firſt reformers," continues the preface, "were of the ſame mind with us, as appears by the ordinance they made, that in all the pariſhes of the realm, the Common Prayer" (meaning that of the church of England) "ſhould be read weekly on Sundays, and other feſtival days; for it is known for diverſe years after, we had no other order for Common Prayer."

In this Scotiſh Liturgy are many improvements, ſome of which, as I have had occaſion to obſerve in the following Elucidation, were adopted in the laſt review of our book that was authoriſed by parliament.—The following are a few of the moſt remarkable variations between the Scotiſh and Engliſh Liturgies, as the latter ſtood prior to the reſtoration. The enumeration of theſe will likewiſe point out ſome particulars, wherein the Scotiſh differs from our preſent book.

The Scotiſh Liturgy, particularly in the Rubrics, often changes prieſt into preſbyter. The Epiſtles, Goſpels, Hymns, and Pſalms, are taken from the new tranſlation of the Bible. No apocryphal Leſſon is found in the Kalendar, though a very few are admitted among the proper leſſons

* See Heylin's Life of Laud.

for Holidays *. In the Communion Service the people are directed to ſay, "Glory be to God †," after the miniſter has given out, and before he proceeds to read the Goſpel: and when the Goſpel is ended they are to anſwer, "Thanks be to thee, O Lord." Some additional ſentences occur in the offertory, "one or more of which ſhall be ſaid as the preſbyter or curate thinketh moſt convenient, according to the length, or ſhortneſs of the time, that the people are offering," and ſome of the ſentences in our book are omitted. The ſame obſervation extends to the ſentences prefixed to the daily prayer. The concluſion of the prayer for the church militant on earth, differs remarkably from Edward's firſt book, from the ſecond, and from our preſent book, as they reſpectively do from each other. At the adminiſtration of the bread and wine, the firſt part only of the words is uſed, as in Edward's former book.

We come now to a memorable period in the hiſtory of our Liturgy, when the deſcendants and diſciples of the Puritans, who had been ſo clamorous for a reform of ceremonies, and what they termed abuſes, in the beginning of James's reign, were but too ſucceſsful in their ſchemes of innovation. It

* In the former edition I ſaid, that *a paraphraſe of the pſalms in metre, by King James VI.* is annexed to the book, and announced in the title page. When this paſſage was written, I had before me an Edinburgh edition of 1712, purporting to be printed from the authentic copy of 1637. But to that copy, which I have ſince examined, this uncouth paraphraſe is not ſubjoined, neither is it noticed in the title page. The ſpurious edition I took for a genuine copy; and he muſt have been a *ſceptic* indeed, who would have doubted its authenticity. I now relate the circumſtance, thinking that it may ſerve as one apology for an occaſional error, where writers are obliged to truſt to copies, or copiers, from want of the means of examining originals.

† It is ſtill cuſtomary in ſome of our churches for the pariſh clerk, and the people to ſay, "Glory be to thee, O Lord," when the clergyman has named the Goſpel. In Edward's firſt Liturgy this was enjoined by a rubric: and *why* the order came to be afterwards omitted, it is now, I apprehend, uſeleſs to enquire.

is generally known that, by their artful machinations, they contrived to inflame the nation into rebellion, to overturn the government both in church and ſtate, and to erect upon its ruins a *Babel* of their own. Their triumph, however, like that of their infatuated brethren, the builders of *confuſion* on the plain of *Shinar*, was happily not of long duration. So little reaſon had the nation at large to be ſatisfied with that novel form of government, to which it was ſubjected by the regicides, that upon the deceaſe of the Protector, the preſbyterians themſelves were willing to accede to the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient monarchy.

When the reſtoration of Charles II. began to be concerted he publiſhed at *Breda* a declaration concerning liberty of conſcience in matters of religion. This was done with a view to ſoften the animoſities that exiſted between the contending parties, and more eſpecially to conciliate the preſbyterians. The committee of nobles and commons appointed afterwards to wait upon the king at the *Hague*, was accompanied by eight or ten of the moſt eminent divines of the preſbyterian communion. In a private conference with Charles, "they declared themſelves no enemies to a moderate epiſcopacy." The king in return "aſſured them, that he had no intention to impoſe hard conditions, or embarraſs their conſciences: that he would refer the ſettling of the matters they mentioned to the two Houſes of Parliament, who were the beſt judges of what indulgence or toleration was neceſſary for the repoſe of the kingdom."

At a ſubſequent private audience they repreſented to Charles, that "as the Common Prayer had been diſcontinued in England for ſeveral years, it might be impolitic for his majeſty to revive the uſe of it in his own chapel immediately on his return. The people, they pretended, would be leſs ſhocked if ſome part of it only were uſed with other prayers." The king, with ſome degree of reſentment, obſerved, that by the liberty he granted *them*, they were not authoriſed to infringe upon *his*. He hoped, he ſaid, to find

the Liturgy regularly received in many places, and that in his own chapel he would ſuffer no other form of worſhip." The miniſters, though diſappointed by the king's firmneſs, proceeded to importune, "that his majeſty's chaplains might diſcontinue the ſurplice, becauſe the ſight of the habit would give offence to the people." The king ſaid, "the ſurplice had always been reckoned a decent habit; that though for the preſent he might be obliged to connive at diſorder, he would never abet irregularity by his own practice, nor diſcountenance the ancient and laudable cuſtoms of the church, in which he had been educated *."

At the return of the king, the church revived with the monarchy: but its revival was not effected without ſome ſtruggle and oppoſition. For more than fourteen years had the hierarchy been broken down, and the Liturgy laid aſide. A very different form of eccleſiaſtical government, and of public worſhip, now prevailed. Various other circumſtances concurred to form a proſpect extremely favourable to the preſbyterians. The nine biſhops, however, that ſurvived the uſurpation, were ſpeedily reinſtated, ſix others were ſoon after conſecrated, and in a ſhort time all the ſees were filled.

On the 25th of October, 1660, came forth the king's *Declaration* reſpecting eccleſiaſtical affairs, in which a promiſe was made, that the Liturgy ſhould be reviewed by an equal number of divines of both perſuaſions. And on the 25th of March following, 42 commiſſioners, that is, 21 epiſcopalians, and 21 preſbyterians, including the aſſiſtants on both ſides, were conſtituted by letters patent. The commiſſioners were enjoined "to meet at the Maſter's lodging in the Savoy, and to take into conſideration the ſeveral directions, rules, forms of prayer, and things in the Common Prayer contained, to review the ſame, comparing them with the moſt ancient Liturgies; to adviſe upon the exceptions and objections that might be made, and if occaſion ſhould require, to make ſuch reaſonable corrections and amendments as

* Clarendon, and Collier.

they

they might judge uſeful and expedient for giving ſatisfaction to tender conſciences and reſtoring unity; but avoiding all unneceſſary abbreviations of the forms and Liturgy, ſo long received in the church of England."

At the firſt meeting of the commiſſioners, the Biſhop of London acquainted the preſbyterian divines, "that as they, and not the Biſhops, had requeſted the conference for making alterations, nothing could be done, till they had delivered their exceptions in writing, together with the additional forms and alterations which they deſired."

The diſſenting miniſters alleged, that verbal debate was not only more agreeable to the ſpirit of the commiſſion, but was alſo the moſt likely means of anſwering the end of the conference. The biſhops, however, being inflexible, the preſbyterians were obliged to aſſent: and they agreed to propoſe in writing, all their *exceptions* at one time, and their *additions* at another.

Eighteen *general* exceptions were accordingly drawn up, ſome of which comprehend a great variety of diſtinct poſitions. Theſe, together with an enumeration of *particular* exceptions againſt ſome rubrics and paſſages in the Book of Common Prayer, were preſented to the epiſcopalian divines. To each of theſe exceptions the church commiſſioners returned what to the members of the eſtabliſhment at leaſt will appear in general a full and ſatisfactory *anſwer*. To this *anſwer* the nonconformiſts wrote a *reply* more ſpirited than reſpectful.

From the papers that paſſed between the commiſſioners we are, I think, authoriſed to infer, that the nonconformiſts, from the nature of the cauſe which they were engaged to defend, were unable to cope with their opponents, to whom they were likewiſe in point of knowledge of ancient Liturgies, and of the opinions of the early Chriſtian writers, plainly inferior*. Yet in the courſe of the conference, they

* Some years prior to this controverſy, MILTON obſerved that his friends, *the puritans, were inferior to the prelates in learning*.

diſplayed great acuteneſs of remark, and very conſiderable abilities and learning. We may further notice, that many of the requiſitions of the preſbyterians were either exorbitant or idle; but it muſt be allowed, that the epiſcopalians were far from being liberal in their conceſſions. Some conceſſions were however made, and other alterations now ſuggeſted by the preſbyterians, and not agreed to by the church commiſſioners, took place at the review in the convocation.

How idle and frivolous were ſome of the propoſitions made by the preſbyterians, the following ſpecimen will evince. In their particular exceptions they requeſt, that the words in the Litany, ALL *that travel by land or by water*, may be changed into, THOSE *that travel by land or by water*. The Epiſcopalians *anſwer*, that the former words are as little liable to exception as the latter, and that they are more agreeable to the phraſe of Scripture. They quote the authority of St. Paul, *I will that prayers and ſupplications be made for* ALL *men*. To this the preſbyterian Miniſters *reply*, "We know not that we are bound to pray for thieves, pirates, and traitors, that travel by land or water on like errands with *Guy Faux*, the *Spaniſh Armada*, &c." Indeed the whole of *this reply*, makes a ſort of quibbling diſtinction where it is not eaſy to diſcover any difference, and this is not the only inſtance where the puritans cavil about little or nothing, merely as it would appear for the ſake of cavil.

Their diſpoſition to find fault with trifles, and to diſpute about things unimportant and indifferent, might incline the commiſſioners of the eſtabliſhment to refuſe conceſſions, which they would probably have been ready enough to make to more candid and liberal opponents. For though many of the exceptions of the nonconformiſts were either frivolous, or ill-grounded, ſome were reaſonable and proper*.

To give an inſtance of this kind alſo from the Litany: They deſired, that inſtead of praying to be delivered *from*

* At leaſt I think ſome were, and I have read, Incorruptam fidem profeſſis, nec amore quiſquam, & ſine odio dicendus eſt.

ſudden

ſudden death, the terms might be *from dying ſuddenly, and unprepared.* The Epiſcopalians anſwer, *from ſudden death is as good*, which, I acknowledge, I cannot ſee. Their reaſon is, *we pray againſt ſudden death that we may not be unprepared.* The reaſon is, to me, not much more ſatisfactory than the propoſition; and I would aſk, Do our congregations in general, do all our miniſters, underſtand theſe words, as a prayer, *that they may not die unprepared?*

But to return to the commiſſioners; the Preſbyterians *reply*, "we added *unprepared*, as expoſitory, or to ſhew the *reaſon why ſudden death* is prayed againſt, and ſo to direct our prayers to *that ſudden death* for which we are *unprepared*, there being *ſome ways* of *ſudden death*, no more to be prayed againſt than death itſelf, ſimply conſidered." They proceed to give inſtances where "a man may be *well prepared to die ſuddenly*, as in the caſe of *martyrdom*, &c."

Whether objections have been more frequently made to any one ſingle paſſage in our Liturgy, than to this, I know not: but I am certain, that in diſcourſing with my pariſhioners, I have oftener been conſulted on the import and propriety of this paſſage, (for the import of the words is generally miſtaken,) than of any other in the whole Book of Common Prayer. Is not this a proof that expoſition or alteration would have been proper? *From ſudden and unprovided death deliver us, Lord*, was the language of the Primer. This correſponded in Engliſh, with the Latin *a morte ſubitanea & improviſa* in the office of Sarum, of which words *ſudden death* is ſomewhat leſs than a tranſlation.

Excluſively of the *exceptions*, and the *reply*, the preſbyterian commiſſioners, according to agreement, propoſed *additions* and *new forms*. One of them in particular, the famous old *Richard Baxter* *, drew up an entire new ſervice, which

* *Baxter* often communicated with the church of England. Though by the canon he was excommunicated *ipſo facto*, yet not being *legally* declared excommunicate, he could not *canonically* be repelled from the Sacrament. *Hoadley*, and *Sharpe*.

he called *the Reformation of the Liturgy*. For this taſk *Baxter* was but indifferently qualified. He had little acquaintance with the Liturgies of antiquity, and leſs reſpect for them. His form, which differs totally from our Liturgy, and indeed reſembles no other, was preſented to the Epiſcopalians, and by them rejected. That ſuch a reformation muſt have been rejected with contempt, will be readily credited by all that have examined it. But it is not ſo eaſy to account for its being preſented to the Biſhops for their approbation, with the concurrence of the more moderate part of the nonconformiſts. *Baxter*'s ſervice is profeſſedly drawn up in *ſcriptural phraſe*: that is, thirty or forty, and ſometimes three or four ſcore detached ſentences, or at leaſt, ſcraps of ſentences, of Holy Scripture are, without much regard to affinity or connection, jumbled together into one prayer.

At the requeſt of the nonconformiſts, the laſt week or ten days was ſpent in verbal conference, in a committee compoſed of three commiſſioners of each perſuaſion. In the accounts tranſmitted to us of this conference, the advocates of the reſpective parties reciprocally accuſe each of miſemploying their time in perſonal altercation; and it appears indeed, that very little was done towards effecting the purpoſe for which they had been appointed. At the cloſe of the laſt day's meeting, it was reſolved, that a written report of the conference ſhould be delivered to the King: and that this general account ſhould be given by the commiſſioners of both perſuaſions. "The church's welfare, unity and peace, and his Majeſty's ſatisfaction, were *ends* upon which they all agreed, but as to the *means* they could not come to any harmony *."

On the 8th of May, 1661, the convocation met. They adopted moſt of the alterations to which the epiſcopalian

* This account of the *Savoy conference* is principally extracted from *Due account, and humble petition of the miniſters*; *Account of proceedings of commiſſioners of both perſuaſions*; *Petition for peace, with reformation of Liturgy*, (All printed at London, 1661) and from *Collier*.

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commiſſioners had agreed, made ſome farther conceſſions to the preſbyterians, and introduced a few other changes and additions. On the 20th of September, the Book, having paſſed both houſes of Convocation, was ſubſcribed by the Biſhops and Clergy; and together with the *Act of Uniformity* prefixed, and *the Preface*, beginning, *It hath been the wiſdom*, (which latter was written after the review) received the civil ſanction of the parliament. The royal aſſent was given, May 19, 1662.

Of the Alterations and Additions adopted by the Convocation, the following are the moſt conſiderable.

The order for reading the pſalms was ſimplified and improved *. Some directions that appear to have been very proper, reſpecting a few of the leſſons, were omitted †. In this

* How they were read before may be ſeen in the Elucidation, p. 125.

† Of this I ſhall give an inſtance, where I think the omiſſion may be accounted for. On all Saints Days, the ſecond morning leſſon is Heb. xi. ver. 33. *Who through faith*, &c. The beginning is abrupt, and to whom the *who* here refers, few in our congregations will recollect. In all the old books, (vid. p. 187 of Elucidation) the reader was directed to begin thus, *Saints by faith*, for *by*, and not *through*, ſtands in the tranſlation then uſed. At the time of the review of 1661, the achievements of the *republican Saints* were recent, and the word *Saints* an equivocal term. When to it was immediately annexed, *through faith ſubdued kingdoms, wrought righteouſneſs, obtained promiſes*, even the devouteſt hearer might be guilty of a momentary perverſion of the meaning of the paſſage; for theſe very exploits were, as the Enthuſiaſts had affected to ſpeak, performed *by themſelves*, and *through faith*.—In modern books we commonly ſee ver. 32. But this Alteration is without authority. In the *ſealed Books*, and the older editions, the reading is ver. 33. But in the office on the Martyrdom of Charles, the ſecond Evening Leſſon begins in all the books at ver. 32.

In the *order how the reſt of the holy Scriptures is appointed to be read*, the concluding rubric was, *So oft as the firſt Chapter of St. Matthew is read either for Leſſon, or Goſpel, ye ſhall begin the ſame at* "The birth of Jeſus Chriſt was on this wiſe, &c." *And the third Chapter of St. Luke's Goſpel ſhall be read unto* "So that he was ſuppoſed to be the Son of Joſeph." But this rubric being now expunged, I apprehend that the genealogies were meant to be read, agreeably to the directions

of

this part of the book ſeveral typographical miſtakes were rectified, leſſons were added for the 29th of February *, and other improvements made. Till this review, the Sentences, Exhortation, Confeſſion, and Abſolution, had never been printed, though they were intended to be ſaid, before the Lord's Prayer, in the beginning of the evening ſervice. Many of the clergy omitted them, and began with the Lord's Prayer. Indeed the order was ambiguous. The rubrics were, "An order for evening prayer throughout the year. The prieſt ſhall ſay, Our Father, &c." At this review, the Abſolution was directed to be read *ſtanding*. Before this, ſome of the clergy read it *kneeling*, no particular direction about the attitude having been given. *Gloria Patri* was expreſsly ordered to be ſaid after every diviſion of the 119th pſalm. This was probably the practice before: otherwiſe Gloria Patri, in the courſe of the pſalms, would not have been repeated on the evening of the 24th, nor on the 25th nor 26th day of the month. The words *rebellion, and ſchiſm* †, were added in the laſt deprecation in the Litany:

of two other rubrics found in our former books, *Whereſoever the beginning of any Leſſon, Epiſtle, or Goſpel, is not expreſſed, there ye muſt begin at the beginning of the Chapter.* And *whereſoever is not expreſſed how far ſhall be read, there ſhall you read to the end of the Chapter.*

* At the time of this review, the rubric directed the ordinary leſſons for the 23d day of February, to be read again on the day following in the Biſſextile, or Leap Year; but in Edward's firſt book, *the 25th day is computed for two days, and ſhall alter neither pſalm nor leſſon.*

† The conſequences of *rebellion* in the ſtate, and *ſchiſm* in the church, had been ſeverely felt by the reviewers of the Liturgy, and their contemporaries, yet the inſertion of theſe two words gave great offence. The ſtrongeſt argument however brought againſt the paſſage, affects not the *meaning*, but the *ſound*. "The Addition of *Rebellion*, and *Schiſm*," it was ſaid, "ſpoils the *cadence*."—Now I do not believe that the *ear* of any man living has diſcovered a want of melody in this part of the ſentence; and even in the laſt century, as one of our forefathers has told us, "the words ran *ſmoothly enough*, in the *mouths* of all, whoſe *conſciences* unfeignedly deteſted, and whoſe *hearts* were clear from theſe crimes."

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in which office likewiſe, *Biſhops, Paſtors and Miniſters*, were changed into *Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons*. The collects for the ember weeks, the prayer for the high court of parliament, and that for all ſorts and conditions of men, together with the general thankſgiving, were all compoſed at this time. The occaſional prayers and thankſgivings, which had hitherto formed a part of the Litany, were now disjoined from it. A collect was appointed for Eaſter Eve, on which day that for the preceding Sunday had hitherto been uſed; and a collect, epiſtle, and goſpel for the 6th Sunday after the Epiphany, on which thoſe for the 5th were before ordered to be repeated. A new collect was likewiſe compoſed for the 3d Sunday in Advent, and this is perhaps a proper place for obſerving, that conſiderable improvements were made in ſeveral other collects *. An appropriate epiſtle was allotted to the feſtival of the purification, on which the epiſtle for the Sunday preceding had formerly been uſed. Inſtead of calling by the name of *epiſtle*, a portion of the Old Teſtament, or Acts of the Apoſtles, read in the place of the epiſtle, it was ordered, that the Miniſter ſhould ſay "The portion of ſcripture appointed for the epiſtle." The epiſtles and goſpels in the communion office, as well as the leſſons in the daily prayer, were taken from the new tranſlation. The two exhortations, that follow the Oblation prayer, were altered, and ordered to be read on the Sunday, or Holiday, preceding the day of the celebration of the communion, and not at the time when the people were aſſembled to receive it. In the prayer for the church militant here on earth, a thankſgiving was inſerted, to make the latter part correſpond

* The excellence of our collects in general, is admitted by all who have either taſte or knowledge of devotional compoſition. No church poſſeſſes, nor ever has poſſeſſed, a more judicious and valuable ſelection. Yet ſome of them might receive improvement, though only from the hand of a maſter. This at leaſt was the opinion of the learned Biſhops and Divines who were commiſſioned in 1689 to prepare, for the conſideration of the Convocation, *alterations of the Liturgy*, &c.

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with theſe introductory words, *and to give thanks for all men.* At the reading of the goſpel, and at the recitation of the Nicene Creed, the people were ordered to ſtand, no directions about the attitude having been given in the old books. At the conſecration of the bread and wine, marginal rubrics were added to direct the Miniſter, as had originally been done in Edward's Liturgy, but not in the latter books: and proviſion was made for conſecrating more bread, and wine, ſhould more of either be wanted. Some new rubrical directions were placed at the end of the communion, and in many of the offices; whilſt others, that were thought no longer neceſſary, were diſcharged.

In the office of public baptiſm of infants, was added the interrogation, *Wilt thou keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the ſame all the days of thy life?* together with the anſwer; and in the collect preceding the act of baptiſing the child, the words "*ſanctify this water to the myſtical waſhing away of ſin,*" were inſerted. A new *office of baptiſm for thoſe of riper years* was compoſed. The two pſalms were prefixed to the leſſon in the burial ſervice*. The *forms of prayer to be uſed at ſea*, for the *martyrdom of King Charles* I. and for the *reſtoration of the Royal Family*, were likewiſe added. Whoever will compare the late book with the preſent, muſt diſcover various other alterations, moſt of which, however, are too minute to require particular enumeration.

By the ſuggeſtion of Tillotſon, afterward Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a commiſſion was iſſued in the former part of the reign of William III. to the moſt eminent of the clergy, authoriſing and requiring them to prepare *ſuch Alterations of the Liturgy, and conſult ſuch other matters, as in their judgments might moſt conduce to the edification and union of the church, and to the reconciling, as much as poſſible, all differ-*

* In Edward's firſt book, the 116, 139, 146 were appointed. Theſe were omitted in the ſecond book, and no others were ſubſtituted till 1661.

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ences. The Biſhops in this commiſſion were, LAMPLUGH of *York*, COMPTON of *London*, MEW of *Wincheſter*, SPRAT of *Rocheſter*, SMITH of *Carliſle*, TRELAWNEY of *Exeter*, BURNETT of *Saliſbury*, HUMPHREYS of *Bangor*, and STRAFFORD of *Cheſter*. Beſides the Biſhops, the commiſſion was compoſed of twenty Divines, among whom were, STILLINGFLEET, PATRICK, TILLOTSON, KIDDER, and TENISON. By theſe commiſſioners ſome new Collects were drawn up more agreeable to the Epiſtles and Goſpels, and they are ſaid to have been written with great force and beauty of expreſſion *. The firſt draught was made by PATRICK, who poſſeſſed a peculiar talent for compoſing prayers. Energy and ſpirit were infuſed by BURNET. STILLINGFLEET examined every word with the exacteſt judgment: and TILLOTSON gave the laſt poliſh, by the free and maſterly touches of his natural and flowing eloquence. KIDDER made a new verſion of the pſalms, which is ſaid to be more conformable to the original: and TENISON collected all the words and expreſſions throughout the Liturgy, that had been excepted againſt, and propoſed others in their room, which were either more clear and plain, or leſs liable to objection †.

When the Alterations agreed upon by the Commiſſioners were prepared, they were ſubmitted to a Convocation, which in conſequence of the jealouſy of the high-church party, and of diſagreement between the two houſes, was repeatedly prorogued, and finally diſſolved, without effecting any one of the purpoſes for which it was convened. Of courſe *the Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according*

* Nicholls ſays, Collectæ cum tantâ verborum elegantiâ, atque ſplendore, tantâque Chriſtianæ mentis vi, atque ardore compoſitæ ſunt, ut nihil poſſit animos audientium magis afficere, et accendere, et eorum mentes ad deum evehere. Def. eccl. Anglic. Who does not regret, that theſe collects, improved by men ſo well qualified to reduce them to the ſtandard of perfection, remain unknown, and unſeen?

† Life of Tillotſon by Birch.

to the uſe of the church of England, reviſed, and amended, in the manner already deſcribed, by the Convocation of 1661, ſtands confirmed and ratified by the Authority of Parliament.

Of the origin of our Liturgy, and of the ſucceſſive improvements, by which it attained its preſent purity and excellence, I have now given a narrative, as minute, as is conſiſtent with the nature of an introductory diſcourſe. It only remains, that I give ſome account of what has been attempted in the following Elucidation of a very important part of this Liturgy, and of the writers, to whom I have been chiefly indebted for aſſiſtance.

In the Elucidation of the Morning and Evening Prayer, I have endeavoured to combine critical information with practical inſtruction; an account of the origin and antiquity of our Rites and Ceremonies, with their application to the purpoſes of devotion.

This, it ſeems to me, has not been attempted by any writer on the ſubject; unleſs I were to except COMBER in his *Companion to the Temple*. But COMBER's work, though containing much valuable matter, and apparently the grand ſource from which a great part of all ſucceeding publications on our Liturgy has been drawn, is, at once, both redundant and defective. In the practical, or devotional part, it is tedious and diffuſe; and in the literary, or critical, ſometimes erroneous.

The publication in moſt general uſe, I apprehend, is WHEATLY's on the Common Prayer. WHEATLY has, undoubtedly, collected much uſeful intelligence: and where he follows the authority of former Engliſh Ritualiſts, (and he appears to have been little acquainted with any other,) he is commonly right: but when he relies upon his own judgment, and ventures to give an opinion, he is almoſt as commonly miſtaken. For this reaſon it is that, in the following work, I have made no uſe whatever of his *Illuſtration*.

The

The authors from whom *Wheatly*'s book is principally compiled, are COSENS, SPARROW, L'ESTRANGE *, COMBER, BENNET, NICHOLLS, and BINGHAM. To the greater part of theſe, and to COMBER in particular, I have large obligations: and I am likewiſe indebted to HOOKER, HEYLIN, STILLINGFLEET, USHER, PEARSON, CAVE, BULL, BURNET, HOADLEY, FULLER, COLLIER, STRYPE, and ABP. SECKER.

Where I have quoted, or referred to, *ancient* or *foreign* writers, I have rarely truſted to ſubſequent authors. In a few inſtances, indeed, the inſpection of originals could not be obtained; but on ſuch occaſions I have generally cited the writer on whoſe authority I depended.

Of the ancient and foreign writers, eccleſiaſtical or liturgical, whom I thought it neceſſary to examine, few were to be found on the ſhelves of my own ſcanty library, and ſome could only be occaſionally conſulted in a public repoſitory. In my references to theſe, therefore, I fear I may have reaſon to apologize for errors of tranſcription; for typographical errors I do not hold myſelf reſponſible.

Having thus diſcharged the debt of gratitude which I owe to the dead, I ſhould be happy, were I permitted, to make public acknowledgement to two or three living characters, who have occaſionally favoured me with their opinion and aſſiſtance.

It is obvious that my ambition has been, not to appear as an original writer on the Common Prayer, but to arrange, unite, and reduce to a convenient form, what has been ſaid by preceding authors on the ſubject. Sometimes, perhaps, I may have improved, what they had left imperfect, and rectified, what they had ſtated erroneouſly.

I truſt, that I have no where ſpoken with unchriſtian acrimony of the opinions, or uſages of thoſe, who are not of our Communion: and if I have occaſionally endeavoured to diſplay the excellence of that form of Common Prayer,

* Not *Sir Roger*, but *Hamond L'Eſtrange, Eſq.*

which

which, after mature conſideration, our foreſathers adopted, it was from a conviction that the form is leſs liable to exception than any one that has hitherto been deviſed.

At the concluſion of the original Introduction, I intimated a deſign of elucidating, in a ſimilar manner, the *Litany*, the *Communion* Service, and the other *Offices* of the eſtabliſhed church *; provided the preſent volume ſhould meet with ſuch a ſhare of the public approbation as to encourage me to proceed. The demand for a ſecond Edition, is a proof that the Work has not been diſreliſhed. This Edition I have, in ſome inſtances, enlarged, and, in others, endeavoured to improve. I have only further to announce, that the Elucidation of the *other offices* is in a ſtate of conſiderable forwardneſs, and will appear, as ſoon as the nature of the undertaking, and parochial engagements, will permit me to render it, in any tolerable degree, worthy of the ſubject, and of public acceptance.

* An Elucidation of theſe, might, it is preſumed, form a volume of nearly the ſame ſize with the preſent.

A

CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL

ELUCIDATION

&c.

OF

THE ORDER FOR

MORNING PRAYER

DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

THE firſt Rubric* commands the officiating miniſter to begin the ſervice by reading one, or more of

* Rubrics are the rules, and directions, given in the book of Common Prayer, for the proper performance of the reſpective offices of the Church. They are called Rubrics, becauſe directions ſimilar to them were formerly diſtinguiſhed, by appearing in red characters, both in written and printed books. The Latin word *Rubrica*, from which the Engliſh term Rubric is immediately derived, means read earth, red ochre, &c.: in a figurative ſenſe, it ſignifies marks put upon ſheep; it more particularly denotes the contents of a book, eſpecially of a book of civil law, the title, heads, and indexes of which were written in red letters. The Rubrics of the *Miſſal* and other Romiſh Offices are ſtill printed in red Characters. In our older Books of Common Prayer, the Rubrics

of the ſentences that follow, with a loud, that is, with a clear, audible, intelligible voice *.

This direction was peculiarly proper at the reformation, before which Era, both the prieſt and people had been enjoined to repeat in *ſecret* the *Pater Noſter*, *Ave Maria*, and *Creedo*, at the beginning of Mattins, and other daily offices. —The firſt Book of Common Prayer in *Engliſh*, ordains that "the prieſt being in the choir ſhall begin "with a loud voice the Lord's Prayer, called the "*Pater Noſter*," neither the ſentences, exhortation, confeſſion, nor abſolution, being then prefixed.

INTRODUCTORY SENTENCES.

"Before thou prayeſt, prepare thyſelf, and be "not as one that tempteth the Lord," is the counſel of the author of Eccleſiaſticus XVIII. 23; and with this correſponds the inſtruction given by the wiſeſt of the ſons of men, "Let not thine

brics are diſtinguiſhed from the text, by appearing in a ſmaller type. In the books of the laſt century, the Rubrics are generally printed in Roman letters, while the liturgy itſelf remains in the old Engliſh, or black letter. In this manner are printed the *Sealed Books*, and the larger Editions of 1662, &c.; but in all modern legitimate editions, the whole of the offices, excepting the reſponſes, is, I believe, univerſally printed in the Roman character, and the Rubrics in the Italic.

* The firſt Rubric, in the *Ordo Miſſ.*, is, Sacerdos clarâ voce dicit, &c. Voce intelligibili, in the *Ceremoniale* and *Breviary*, is uſed to expreſs the ſame thing.

"heart

" heart be haſty to utter any word before God." Eccleſ. v. 2. Indeed the elevation of the ſoul to our Creator in public prayer is an act ſo awful and ſolemn, requiring ſuch compoſure, and devout application of the mind, that, without preceding preparation, it cannot be ſuitably performed. Hence the Jews were directed to meditate a little in ſilence, after they had entered the Synagogue, and before they began their devotions*. And Cyprian informs us, that in the primitive church, the miniſter, by a prefatory addreſs, prepared the minds of the brethren for prayer †.

In conformity to theſe precepts, and in imitation of theſe examples, the church of England begins her daily prayer with one or more ſolemn ſentences, ſelected from Holy Scripture. Al-

* Ad preces autem deſcendere non debent ſimulac ingrediuntur, ſed aliquantiſper ſilentium facere, & ipſi ſecum reputare. *Buxtor. Synag. Jud. c.* 5.

† Sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmiſſa parat fratrum mentes, dicendo, *ſurſum corda. Cypr. de Orat. Domin.* Theſe words of Cyprian, which as Fell and Marſhall have obſerved, are one proof of the antiquity of forms of Prayer, afford us an occaſion of *proteſting* againſt a groſs calumny upon our Liturgy, which either ignorance, or malevolence has repreſented as moſtly taken from "the Maſs Book, and Popiſh Offices." *Lift up your hearts, we lift them up unto the Lord*, ſtand in the ancient Liturgies of the Eaſt and Weſt. *Let us give thanks to our Lord God, it is very meet, right*, &c., are mentioned by Cyril, Chryſoſtom, and Auſtin. Many of the forms retained by the Church of England are older than the corruptions introduced by popery: and Stillingfleet has ſhewn that where the ancient *Britiſh* or *Gallican* churches differed from the *Roman*, the Reformers followed them, and not the Roman.

mighty God, whom we are going to addreſs, whoſe pity and mercy we are about to implore, is firſt introduced ſpeaking to us, by the mouth of his miniſter, out of his moſt holy word: And if we expect him to hear our prayers, it is but reaſonable that we ſhould hearken to his voice.

The general tendency of the ſentences is, to enforce repentance. Sin, unrepented of, above all things, diſqualifies men for prayer, and prevents their petitions from being heard, and accepted at the throne of grace.

In the choice of the particular ſentences our reformers have evinced their uſual judgement. None more appropriate to the occaſion are to be found in Holy Writ. Indeed the venerable compilers of our Liturgy have walked, like ſkilful phyſicians, in the garden of God. Finding it plentifully ſtored with medicines for the cure of ſpiritual diſeaſes, they have collected only a few of the moſt potent and uſeful. Theſe are ſomewhat different in their operation, but they are all calculated to produce the ſame effect, that is, to bring men to repentance. Our reformers conſidered, that ſome men are ignorant, others negligent; that ſome are obdurate, others tender; that ſome are confident and preſumptuous, and others fearful and deſponding: Knowing the various temperaments of various perſons, and the different diſpoſition of the ſame man at different times, they have preſented us with a conſiderable variety, leaving it to the diſcretion of the officiating

officiating miniſter to apply ſuch, as he may judge beſt adapted to the ſpiritual caſe of thoſe, whoſe welfare he is appointed to conſult.

The full import of the ſentences, it is to be feared, is not generally underſtood; neither is the recital of them, in all churches, always attended to, with the reverence they deſerve. Hence it is poſſible, that the pious intentions of the compoſers of the Liturgy may, at the very outſet of the ſervice, in ſome degree, be fruſtrated. On theſe grounds, it is preſumed, that a fuller illuſtration of the Introductory Sentences, than of ſome other parts of the ſervice, may be required.

It may likewiſe be proper to arrange together ſuch ſentences as have a nearer affinity and relation to each other. This method will afford every man an opportunity of employing his private meditations, before the ſervice begins*, upon ſuch

* Before the ſervice of the church begins, it is likewiſe proper that Chriſtians ſhould addreſs themſelves to God in private prayer. A form of prayer, like the following, has been recommended for this purpoſe by ſome reſpectable members of our community to be uſed at our entrance into the church.

O Lord, I am now in thine houſe. Aſſiſt, I pray thee, and accept my ſervices. Enable me, and all thoſe that ſhall this day meet in thy name, to worſhip thee in ſpirit and in truth. Let thy holy ſpirit help our infirmities, and diſpoſe our hearts to ſeriouſneſs, attention and devotion. And grant that we may improve this opportunity to the honour of thy holy name, and the benefit of our ſouls, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

ſuch ſubjects as are beſt ſuited to his preſent frame of mind and ſpiritual circumſtances. For every ſerious perſon beſt knows his own ſtate, and will naturally be led to contemplate ſuch ſubjects, as correſpond with his preſent diipoſition. And theſe, of courſe, will be the beſt claculated, to promote in him, ſincere repentance, and true devotion.

In this view the ſentences may be conſidered as addreſſed to perſons of five different deſcriptions. They afford,

1. *INSTRUCTION* to the Ignorant and Erroneous. 1 John 1. 8. 9. Ezek. XVIII. 27

The prayer is ſo plain, that it requires little explication. It petitions for acceptance and abilities to worſhip God properly, for ſerioufneſs, attention, and devotion, that by our ſolemn meeting we may promote his honour, and obtain his bleſſing. This form may eaſily be prolonged, or diverſified as each man's particular circumſtances may require.

The prayer ſubjoined may be uſed with advantage, when the ſervice is ended.

Bleſſed be thy name, O Lord, for this opportunity of attending thee in thy houſe and ſervice. Pardon, I beſeech thee, my wanderings and imperfections. Mercifully accept my ſervices, and grant that I, and all Chriſtians, may be doers of thy word and not hearers only, through our only mediator Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

Theſe two prayers are, with little variation extracted from a Tract, entitled "Directions for a devout and decent behaviour in "the Public Worſhip of God," and generally prefixed to the books of Common Prayer, diſperſed by *the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge*. The Tract may be bought for 9s. per hundred, at Meſſrs. Rivington's, Bookſellers to the Society.

2. *ADMO-*

2. *ADMONITION* to the Negligent and Inconſiderate. Pſ. LI. 3. Mat. III. 2.

3. *MODELS OF PENITENTIAL DEVOTION* to thoſe who are apprehenſive of God's Judgements. Pſ. LI. 9. Pſ. CXLIII. 2. Jer. X. 24.

4. *ENCOURAGEMENT* and *CONSOLATION* to the Diffident and Contrite. Pſ. LI. 17. Dan. IX. 9. Luke. XV. 18, 19.

5. And *CAUTION* to the Ceremonious and Formal. Joel II. 13.

SENTENCES AFFORDING INSTRUCTION TO THE IGNORANT AND ERRONEOUS.

Many Perſons attend the public worſhip, who are groſsly ignorant of their real ſtate. Inſenſible of their guilt, and inapprehenſive of their danger, they either think that they have no ſin; or ſuppoſe that a ſlight confeſſion of it will obtain them pardon. Theſe ſurely ſtand in need of information, before they join in the public ſervice. And we are here furniſhed with two ſtriking paſſages from Holy Scripture, admirably adapted to inſtruct their ignorance, and rectify their errors.

The one more immediately proceeds from the mouth of God, and is delivered by his prophet. The other is a dreſſed by St. John, the beloved Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, to the Catholic Church, that is, to the whole Chriſtian world.

If any man be ſo ignorant, as to ſuppoſe, that a few ſlight petitions to heaven will obtain the pardon of his paſt offences, let him weigh the import of the following words:

When the wicked man, &c.

This paſſage is taken out of the 18th chapter of Ezekiel; a chapter, which I exhort every Chriſtian, frequently to read, and attentively to conſider. God here plainly declares, that if he, who had before led an habitual good life, unfortunately fall into ſinful courſes, he ſhall forfeit God's favour, and "his former righteouſneſs ſhall not "be mentioned."—"in his treſpaſs that he hath "treſpaſſed, and in his ſin that he hath ſinned; "in them ſhall he die." On the other hand, Almighty God ſolemnly avows, that whenever, the ſinner, by unfeigned repentance, turns to him, he will reſtore him to his favour. However wicked and abominable his former life may have been, yet if he ſee his errors, be heartily ſorry for them, and forſake them; if he endeavour to do "what is lawful and right," walking in the ſtatutes of God, and obſerving his judgments: and if this new ſtate of life be ſincere and permanent, then, he ſhall not die, "he ſhall ſave his ſoul alive."—He ſhall be delivered from the miſery denounced upon final impenitence, and ſhall obtain everlaſting happineſs and glory.

But ſome are not ſenſible of their guilt.—Ignorance, or vanity, prompts them to fancy that they have

have no ſin, and conſequently, no need of repentance. To counteract the effects of ſo fatal a deluſion, the following paſſage from St. John is introduced, to which the ſelf-righteous, the preſumptuous ſelf-deceiver, will do well to attend:

If we ſay, &c.

In this ſtate of imperfection the beſt men are liable to many frailties, and all of us offend God daily. The Apoſtle declares, that if we ſay, or think in our hearts, that we live without ſin, we deceive, not God, who ſees and will puniſh our guilt, but ourſelves, by believing a moſt groſs falſehood. He aſſures us, that the truth of God's word, which ſays, that "all have ſinned." is not in us. Whereas, if we examine our hearts, acknowledge our ſins, and repent of them, God has promiſed, and Chriſt has purchaſed us, pardon. His faithfulneſs and juſtice will fulfil his promiſe. He will forgive us our paſt ſins, and by his grace, and the aſſiſtance of his holy ſpirit, he will, for the future, preſerve us from "all "deadly ſin," and "confirm and ſtabliſh us in "every good work."

Admonition to the negligent and inconsiderate.

Others are not ignorant, but negligent. They are ready enough to acknowledge their ſin, and appear to be aware of their danger. But though they

they are convinced, that, without repentance and amendment of life, neither their prayers, nor perſons will be accepted by God, yet they defer from day to day, from week to week, from month to month, from year to year, the practice of theſe duties. To excite ſuch perſons to repent in earneſt, the church furniſhes us with two ſtriking paſſages. The former is taken from the 51ſt Pſalm, in which the royal Pſalmiſt, after the commiſſion of a very grievous crime, makes confeſſion of his ſin before God:

I acknowledge my tranſgreſſions, &c.

Conſcious that he has offended God, he does not, when reproved by the mouth of the Prophet*, attempt to conceal, or extenuate his offence. He confeſſes it with all its aggravations; he avows that his conſcience knows no reſt, and that the ſenſe of his ſin haunts him day and night. Now if holy David, when, in one deplorable inſtance, he had been ſurpriſed into ſin, entertained ſuch dreadful apprehenſions of God's anger, let the thoughtleſs, inconſiderate ſinner reflect, what impreſſions the ſenſe of his manifold offences ſhould make upon his mind.

If he diſregard the example of David, let him attend to the ſummons from God, delivered by the Baptiſt, commanding all men, eſpecially the thoughtleſs and inconſiderate, to repent:

Repent ye, &c.

That is, by repentance and reformation make

* See 2 Sam. c. xii.

your

your peace with God, whilſt the day of life, and the kingdom of grace laſt. If you live and die in your ſins, you will, at the Day of Judgment, which precedes Chriſt's kingdom of glory, be excluded from heaven, and caſt into hell.

Models of penitential Devotion to those who are apprehensive of God's Judgments.

By the preceding ſentences we have been taught, that men univerſally deſerve the wrath of God, and that all ſhould "fear before him." But when we obſerve, in the perſon of the humble penitent, how apt the exceſſive dread of God's righteous judgment is to deject the heart, oppreſs the ſpirits, and prevent the exerciſe of devotion, we diſcover with what propriety, the compilers of our Common Prayer, have, in the three ſucceeding ſentences, ſupplied us with models of penitential ſupplication.

Hide thy face, &c.

Let us ſuppoſe a ſinner, awakened to a true ſenſe of his deplorable ſituation, and looking around him for help and deliverance. Above, is an inſulted, offended God, prepared to take vengeance: Below, the fiery gulph gapes ready to receive him. In this ſeaſon of diſtreſs and diſmay, the example of David will teach him, not to turn away through fear from the Almighty, but to approach him more ſpeedily, and to pray to him more humbly, and earneſtly, for the pardon of his ſins. The royal penitent here re-iterates

ates his former requeſts, that God would ceaſe to behold his iniquity, that he would blot it out, as a man blots out what he has written, ſo that it can never be read again.

Enter not into judgment, &c.

Here David urges the fallen, ſinful, wretched ſtate of human nature. Of all the ſons of Adam, not one could be ſaved, ſhould God enter into judgment with him*, and inſtead of pardoning his offences by an act of grace, inflict the puniſhment due to them by the rigor of the law. The thought of ſuch a trial, appals the ſoul of the beſt man living, makes his fleſh to tremble, and all his bones to ſhake. To God's grace and mercy, through the merits of Chriſt alone, the moſt innocent man living muſt owe his juſtification and acquittal.

O Lord, correct, &c.

If the juſtice of Jehovah is determined to puniſh, and the penitent offender cannot be forgiven without ſome chaſtiſement, the humble ſupplication of the prophet inſtructs us to pray, that it may be inflicted, not with the vindictive fury of an adverſary, but with the moderation of a merciful judge †. Should the Lord proceed with rigor

* The word rendered *judgment* is uſed in Scripture in a very extenſive ſignification. Here it implies a ſtrict judicial proceſs againſt the *guilty*, and the conſequence of ſuch a trial before an *infallible* judge, i. e. condemnation and the execution of judgment.

† The word rendered judgment, as we obſerved above, is taken

rigor proportionate to the ſinner's demerit, he would be totally conſumed; reduced to a ſtate worſe than annihilation.

CONSOLATION TO THE DIFFIDENT AND CONTRITE.

That the heart of the penitent overwhelmed with grief may not deſpair of forgiveneſs, as if God were utterly irreconcilable, and no more to be intreated, and to prepare him to ſupplicate mercy through faith and repentance, the church has provided three ſentences for the encouragement of thoſe who are diffident of God's favour, and for the conſolation of the contrite:

The ſacrifices of God, &c.

The firſt ſhews, how well qualified ſuch perſons are to pray for pardon; that with a penitent and contrite heart God is well pleaſed; that a broken ſpirit, a ſoul pierced with the many genuine ſorrows, which always accompany true repentance, is a ſacrifice, which he will moſt graciouſly accept.

ken in a great latitude. Here it is uſed in the favourable ſenſe. Correct me, but with judgment: that is, favourably, reaſonably, moderately. Taylor's Heb. Concord.—Cum judicio, i. e. modicè, in modo. Junius. See Jeremiah, xxx. 11. "I will correct thee "in meaſure, and not leave thee altogether unpuniſhed." The original is literally, "I will chaſten thee in judgment, and in clear-"ing thee I will not clear thee." That is, I will deal mercifully with thee, and though juſtice requires that I ſhould puniſh thee, yet thou ſhalt not be utterly deſtroyed.

To the Lord, our God, belong, &c.

In the former ſentence, we ſaw how well qualified the penitent heart is to pray for forgiveneſs. This demonſtrates God's readineſs to forgive. Though we have violated his holy laws, taken up arms, and lived in a ſtate of open rebellion againſt his divine majeſty, yet he is the God of mercies. If we repent, he will pardon. Let his pity in ſparing, and his goodneſs in reſtoring us, encourage us to draw near him, and make confeſſion of our ſins before him.

To enforce the former declarations, the third ſentence under this head, *I will ariſe, &c.*, proves by the example of one, whoſe condition was as wretched, whoſe offences were as great, and whoſe forgiveneſs was as unlikely, as ours can poſſibly be, that every true penitent, who ventures to return to his heavenly Father, may have the fulleſt aſſurance of meeting with a kind reception; and that thoſe things, which the ſenſe of our unworthineſs makes us aſhamed to aſk, his voluntary bounty is ready to beſtow.

CAUTION TO THE CEREMONIOUS AND FORMAL.

In the laſt place, ſhould any, by the frequent uſe of theſe public offices, grow cold and careleſs, or ceremonious and formal, ſhould they begin to reſt ſolely, on eſtabliſhed rites, and cuſtomary obſervances, repeating the confeſſion and the prayers without any correſponding affections of devotion,

to them the Church addreſſes that direction and reproof, which God himſelf addreſſed to the hypocritical Jews:

Rend your hearts, &c.

The Jews were forward enough to exhibit the exterior formalities of ſorrow, and repentance, whilſt their principles remained unaltered, and their hearts were devoid of true contrition. To the outward ſigns of mourning, the prophet exhorts them to add inward ſorrow. God regards the diſpoſition of our minds more than the poſture of our bodies. When you come to confeſs your ſins before God, rend your heart with grief for your offences, and fear of his diſpleaſure. Turn your hearts unto the Lord, whom with your lips you call your God. The gracious mercy, long ſuffering, and benignity of God, are the greateſt encouragements to expect his pardon. Though he has determined to puniſh, he is more deſirous to ſpare. He will repent, and will not inflict the evil he has threatened, provided you repent of the evil you have committed. And ſhall we approach with frigid formality, when we come to confeſs our ſins, and ſupplicate forgiveneſs of ſo good and gracious a God? Let us not only bend the ſuppliant knee, but bow down the "humble, "lowly, penitent, and obedient heart," whenever we aſſemble in the houſe of our God "to praiſe "his holy name, to give him thanks, to hear his "word, and to aſk thoſe things that are requiſite "and neceſſary both for our bodies and ſouls."

THE EXHORTATION

As a farther preparation for addreſſing ourſelves acceptably to God, and that all may underſtand aright the duty of repentance, which all are concerned to practiſe, our church has, after the ſentences, added a ſolemn and ſeaſonable Exhortation, partly deduced from them, and intended to illuſtrate and apply them.

From the word of God, the Exhortation infers the neceſſity of confeſſing our ſins. It directs, *how* this duty is to be performed; and thus connects the preceding ſentences with the following general confeſſion.

And let not the pious care of the church be inſulted, or abuſed by the irreverence, or inattention of any of her members. During the reading of the ſentences and exhortation †, it is not the buſineſs

– The Common Prayer of the church of England was drawn up by our reformers, not ſolely for the public ſervice of the Church. It was likewiſe intended to be a guide in family worſhip. When it is uſed in private devotion, the Exhortation may be turned into a prayer, preparatory to the Confeſſion, and thus abridged:

Almighty God, and heavenly Father, who, in ſundry places of thy moſt holy word, haſt commanded us to acknowledge, and confeſs our manifold ſins, and wickedneſs unto thee, give us grace, at this time, to confeſs them, with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart, to the end that we may obtain forgiveneſs of the ſame, by thy infinite goodneſs and mercy.—And this we beg through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

† Give me leave, ſays Dr. Bennet, to obſerve, that the Sentences, the Exhortation, the Abſolution, and thoſe other Parts of the Liturgy,

neſs of the people to mutter the words after the miniſter, much leſs is it allowable to exchange offices of courteſy and civility. The duty of the people is, ſilently and ſeriouſly to attend to what the miniſter delivers *.

The affectionate and apoſtolic ſalutation, "Dearly beloved brethren," is intended to engage the attention of the congregation, and to expreſs the tender love of the miniſter for the ſouls of thoſe committed to his charge. He knows what God expects from us; he ſees the danger of our neglect, and therefore, he admoniſhes us, to confeſs our ſins, to repent of them and to amend our lives. It is not from his own, nor any human authority, that he does this. From the introductory ſentences, as well as from various other paſ-

turgy, which are directed or ſpoken to the people only, ought to be uttered after a quite different manner, from that which becomes the Confeſſion, the Lord's Prayer, and thoſe other parts of the Liturgy, which are directed and ſpoken to God. The voice muſt be ſo managed, as plainly to ſignify and declare a remarkable diſtinction; that even the moſt heedleſs people may know and underſtand, when the miniſter ſpeaks to them, and when to their Maker. Wherefore all parts of the Liturgy are not to be read with one and the ſame continued tone; but ſuch a manifeſt alteration of the tone muſt conſtantly be made, as is ſuitable to the ſeveral parts of it. *Paraphraſe on the Common Prayer.*

* To every member of our communion, and to the *young* in particular, I earneſtly recommend the frequent peruſal of the little Tract, already mentioned in page 6; entitled "Directions for a devout and decent Behaviour in the Public Worſhip of God:"—It is one of the beſt companions to the Book of Common Prayer that I have ſeen.

ſages of Scripture, it is plain, that Confeſſion and Repentance, is not the impoſition of our ſpiritual guides or civil governors. They are duties required by God himſelf, and the practice of them is indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſalvation. The miniſter of the Goſpel, like the prophets of the old Teſtament, comes armed with "the ſword of the "ſpirit, the word of God." They that legitimately miniſter in ſpiritual things have an office, which they received, neither from the Legiſlature, nor "the will of man, but from God." And however mean and contemptible the ſpeech, perſon, or worldly circumſtances of the miniſter of Chriſt Jeſus may appear, from him you hear the voice of God, commanding all men every where to acknowledge their tranſgreſſions, to make humble confeſſion of their ſins, and to repent.

He that diſregards the command, diſregards not man, but God; and by that word, which now calls you to confeſſion and repentance, you will, if you diſobey the ſummons, be finally condemned.

To attempt to diſſemble or extenuate your ſins before God's all-ſeeing eye, is only an aggravation of your offence. It is to add in the aſſembly of the church, and in the preſence of the holy Angels, to the black catalogue of your numerous tranſgreſſions, the deteſtable crime of hypocriſy.

The word of God is both a monitor to remind us of our duty, and a guide to direct us in the

per-

performance of it. From that word, the church has ſelected the three eſſential points of true repentance. The firſt admoniſhes us to confeſs our ſins with humility and lowlineſs of heart, with a heart ſenſible of our own vileneſs and unworthineſs, like that of the Publican, who "ſtood afar "off and would not ſo much as lift up his eyes "to heaven." This muſt be accompanied with penitential ſorrow, contrition, and remorſe, for having offended ſo good and merciful a God. Theſe will produce the third eſſential of repentance, an "obedient heart," and make us firmly reſolve and earneſtly endeavour for the future "to keep God's holy will and commandments." To ſuch repentance God has graciouſly annexed forgiveneſs. But we are not to preſume, that there is any thing like merit in our repentance and obedience. For forgiveneſs and juſtification we are indebted ſolely to the "infinite mercy and "goodneſs of God," through the meritorious ſufferings, and efficacious mediation of our Lord, and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt*.

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* We are forgiven, acquitted, abſolved, and "accounted righte-"ous;" or, as our tranſlation ſometimes renders the word, "*juſ-"tified* before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Je-"ſus Chriſt." Article XI. For a fuller account of this wholeſome and comfortable doctrine, the article refers to the *Homily of Juſtification*, (meaning, it is preſumed, the Homily, which treats of juſtification, entitled *A Sermon on the Salvation of Mankind*, and divided into three parts.) In this Homily the church lays down the plain Chriſtian doctrine of juſtification in general terms. Into ſpe-

The Exhortation proceeds to remind us, that we ſhould acknowledge our daily tranſgreſſions, at all times, and in all places, morning, noon, and night, in our private devotions in the cloſet, as well as in the ſtated public ſervice of the church. One of the fitteſt times, however, and one of the moſt proper places, for the diſcharge of this duty is, when we are aſſembled in the houſe of God. In this ſacred place we meet together for the purpoſe of performing the four principal parts of public worſhip*.

1. To "give him thanks" for his innumerable bleſſings and benefits, for all his goodneſs, and loving kindneſs to the children of men. This we do in our general thankſgiving, and in ſeveral of the pſalms.

2. To "ſet forth his moſt worthy praiſe," to laud and glorify his holy name, which we do in pſalms, hymns, anthems and doxologies.

culative points, which were diſcuſſed with warmth at the very time when the Article and Homily were compoſed, our church, according to her uſual wiſdom and moderation, declines to enter. May a moiety at leaſt of *her* ſpirit at length reſt upon all her ſons!

* This diviſion of the leading duties of public worſhip accords remarkably with the account Auſtin gives of the practice of Chriſtian aſſemblies. With a ſimple tranſpoſition of the clauſes, the ſentence ſtands thus: Veri Dei aut miracula narrantur, aut dona laudantur, aut præcepta inſinuantur, aut beneficia poſtulantur. *Aug. Civ. Dei.* lib. II. c. XXVIII.

And Tertullian had long before expreſſed nearly the ſame thing: In Eccleſia inter dominica ſolemnia, prout ſcripturæ leguntur, aut pſalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur. *Tertull. de Anima.* c. IX.

3. "F

3. "To hear his moſt holy word," which is read to us in the leſſons, and expounded to us in ſermons.

4. And laſtly, "to aſk thoſe things which are "requiſite and neceſſary as well for the body as "the ſoul;" that is, to pray for the continuance of ſpiritual and temporal bleſſings, which we do in the collects, ſupplications, interceſſions, and more particularly in the Litany.

Now not one of theſe ſervices can be duly performed, that is, ſo performed as to become acceptable to God, and beneficial to ourſelves, without previous confeſſion, and ſincere repentance.

1. We cannot be truly thankful to God, whilſt we abuſe his mercies. 2. We cannot praiſe and adore thoſe divine perfections, of which in our impenitent, unregenerate ſtate we have little ſenſe or experience. 3. Replete with carnal luſts and ſinful affections, we can neither be devout hearers nor faithful doers of his holy word. 4. And we cannot hope for the ſucceſs of thoſe prayers and petitions, which we know the wickedneſs of our lives renders "an abomination unto the Lord."

That we may not attend the public worſhip in vain, and, what is more deplorable, carry back with us a curſe inſtead of a bleſſing, the miniſter beſeeches us to join with him in the following confeſſion of our ſins. The ambaſſador of God, knowing that our heavenly father ſtands ready to receive us, and is graciouſly diſpoſed to grant our

requeſts, entreats us to accompany him to the throne of grace. He puts words into our mouths, and ſpeaks with us and for us. He directs us, to approach with ſincerity and purity of heart, with becoming gravity and circumſpection, and meekly kneeling upon our knees*, to addreſs the throne of heavenly grace, not with a loud and clamorous voice, not with an inarticulate motion of the lips, but with a low humble voice ſuited to the ſolemnity of the General Confeſſion†.

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* Kneeling in prayer, ſays Archbiſhop Seeker, (7th ſermon in 6th volume) eſpecially in this part, has not only ancient authority, but nature likewiſe, on its ſide: and ſo ſtrongly expreſſes and excites inward humility, that it ſhould never be omitted wilfully or negligently, in favour of eaſe and indolence. Still they whoſe infirmities will not permit them to be on their knees without pain, or hurt, may allowably ſtand, or even ſit. Again, ſome pews are ſo conſtructed, that in full congregations, every one cannot conveniently kneel. In ſuch a caſe we muſt be contented with *ſtanding*, which, though it be a leſs eligible poſture than *kneeling*, is greatly preferable to ſitting.

† It is highly reaſonable, that the miniſter ſhould make ſuch a pauſe between the end of the Exhortation, and the beginning of the Confeſſion, that the whole congregation may have ſufficient time, deliberately, and without the leaſt hurry, to put their bodies in a praying poſture, and to direct their minds to God, and fix them upon the divine Majeſty, ſo that they may be thoroughly compoſed for ſo ſolemn and heavenly an exerciſe, by that time the miniſter begins the Confeſſion. I intreat the people alſo to remember, that when they are repeating the ſeveral portions of the Confeſſion after the miniſter, they are ſpeaking to God, and tranſacting with him the grand affair of repentance, and reconciliation to his favor, upon which their everlaſting happineſs depends. Let them therefore not behave

THE GENERAL CONFESSION.

Prayer is unqueſtionably the moſt uſeful and edifying part of divine worſhip; and Confeſſion is one of the moſt ſolemn and intereſting parts of prayer. It has been already obſerved, and ought to be remembered, that, till he has confeſſed his ſins, no perſon can be properly qualified to join in the public worſhip of God. It therefore behoves all to be early in their attendance at the houſe of prayer *, that they may have time to compoſe their minds by holy meditation, to reflect upon their offences, and to prepare for joining in this Confeſſion. For though in ſome inſtances Sacredotal Abſolution may be diſpenſed with, yet without Confeſſion, there is no remiſſion to be expected at the hand of God. Prov. xxviii. 13. 1 John i. 8, 9, 10. On this account the Confeſſion is placed by the Church of England in the beginning of the ſervice. In this regulation of her daily offices, our church

behave themſelves after a careleſs and ſlovenly manner; let them not utter the words in ſuch a tone, as proves that they do not mind what they ſay, or to whom they ſpeak. Let them ſo perform this duty that it may obtain the remiſſion, and not add to the number of their ſins. *Bennet's Paraphraſe.*

* Hence we perceive the impropriety of habitually coming too late to church. Loitering in the church-yard after the ſervice is begun, is likewiſe a practice extremely reprehenſible, and yet very common in ſome country pariſhes.

imitates the example of pious men of old *, who lived under the Moſaical diſpenſation, and conforms to the practice of the purer ages of the Chriſtian church. "With us," ſays Baſil, "all the "people come early in the morning, while it is "yet dark, to the houſe of prayer, and with "ſorrow, and with affliction, and with profuſion of "tears, make confeſſion of their ſins to God†."

By the Rubric, this confeſſion is appointed to be ſaid of the whole congregation, after the miniſter; and in the ancient Chriſtian church, the confeſſion of ſins, like our confeſſion of faith, was made jointly by the prieſt and people, "All, "as it were, with one voice and one heart," ſays Baſil, "make their confeſſion unto the Lord, "each man expreſſing his own repentance with "his own mouth ‡."

Forms of confeſſion are generally to be met with in the Liturgies of antiquity, but a form, ſuperior, or equal to our own, is no where to be found §. Our

* See Ezra, IX. 5; &c. and Daniel, IX. 3, &c., where theſe holy men confeſs their own ſins, and the ſins of the people in the humbleſt manner, and pour forth the moſt pathetic deprecations, ſupplications, and interceſſions before God.

† Εκ νυκτος γαρ ορθριζει παρ' ημιν ο λαος επι τον οικον της προσευχης, και εν πονω, και εν θλιψει, και εν συνοχη δακρυων εξομολογουμενοι τω θεω, πελευταιον, &c. *Baſil, Ep.* 63.

‡ Παντες κοινη, ως εξ ενος στοματος, και μιας καρδιας τον της εξομολογησεως ψαλμον αναφερουσι τω κυριω, ιδια εκαστος τα ρηματα της μετανοιας ποιουμενοι. *Id. Ibid.*

§ In favour of the practice of inſerting confeſſions in public Liturgies

Our confeſſion, like the prayer which Jeſus taught us, though conciſe, is comprehenſive and full. It is conceived in * general terms, yet at the ſame time,

turgies, and of the excellence of our form, they, who have ſeceded from the church, bear the moſt unequivocal teſtimony. Notwithſtanding their rage for innovation, our confeſſion, (except the words *And there is no health in us,)* is literally retained in the third edition of the reformed Liturgy of the Socinians.

* It has indeed been blamed by the adverſaries of our church for being too general. Of the reaſonableneſs of their objections and the validity of our vindication the reader may judge from the exceptions, that were made in writing by the Preſbyterian clergy, and the anſwers returned by the Epiſcopalian commiſſioners appointed to review the Liturgy in 1661.

Among their exceptions, the objectors obſerve, that "the public "Liturgy of a church ought to comprehend the ſum of all ſuch ſins "as are ordinarily to be confeſſed in prayer, and to take in ſuch "petitions and thankſgivings as are commonly to be put up by the "church; and the points ſhould be ſet down in a clear explicit man-"ner;" and here they pretend "the Liturgy is defective as to all "theſe matters." This general *exception* they exemplify *particularly*.

1. "There is no preparatory prayer in the beginning of the "ſervice, for God's aſſiſtance and acceptance, yet many collects in "the midſt of the worſhip, have little, or nothing elſe."

2. "The confeſſion is very defective. Original ſin is not clearly "expreſſed, nor actual ſins with their aggravations ſufficiently "enumerated. The form conſiſts only of *generals*, whereas con-"feſſion, being an exerciſe of repentance, ought to be more parti-"cular."

3. "The whole body of the Common Prayer conſiſts very "much of mere generals: as *to be kept from all evil, from all ene-"mies, from all adverſity, that we may do God's will:* without "any mention of the particulars in which theſe generals exiſt."

To

time, it is so particular, that it includes every kind of sin. Where the minister is not too precipitate, when

To these exceptions the Commissioners who represented the church of England reply, that "whereas it was objected there was no "preparatory prayer in our Liturgy for God's assistance or accept- "ance, they answer *this is plain misreporting* the Common Prayer. "For, besides a preparatory exhortation, there are several prepara- "tory prayers," upon the heads in which, it is pretended, the Li- turgy of the church of England is deficient: as "*Despise not, O* "*Lord, humble and contrite hearts*; which was one of the introducto- "ry sentences. *That those things may please him which we do at this* "*present*, at the end of the absolution, and again immediately af- "ter the Lord's Prayer, *O Lord, open thou our lips, &c.*"

To the Presbyterians' objection against the church's confession being couched in general terms, the Episcopalian divines answer, "that this is rather a perfection than a defect: That the offices are "intended for *common* use: That *general* services cease to be such "by descending to particulars. When confession of sins is general, "all persons may and must join in it, since in many things we of- "fend all. But if the enumeration of sin were particular, it would "not be so well suited to the use of the congregation, because it "may happen that some persons may by God's grace have been pre- "served from several of those sins enumerated; and therefore by "confessing themselves guilty, they would lie to Almighty God, "and thus stand in need of a *new* confession."

"As for original sin, we think it an *evil custom*, springing from "*false doctrine*, to use any such expressions as may lead people to "think, that to persons baptized (in whose persons only our prayers "are offered up) original sin is not forgiven in baptism; original "sin, we conceive to be sufficiently acknowledged in the church's "confessing that, *without God's help our frailty cannot but fall, that* "*our mortal nature can do no good thing without him; and that there is* "*no health in us.*"

"They (the Dissenters) complain the Liturgy contains too many "generals,

when he allows the congregation time to repeat it, with ſuch deliberation, that their hearts may go along with their words, each individual may, and ought, under the general form, to make a particular mental confeſſion of his own perſonal ſins, known only to God and his own conſcience.

The general Confeſſion, which is a regular and methodical compoſition, may be divided into two parts.

1. A confeſſion, in the ſtrict and proper ſenſe of the term, which is followed

2. By earneſt petitions, containing deprecations of evil, and ſupplications for ſpiritual bleſſings.

Before we enter upon the firſt part of the confeſſion, we ſhall here particularly notice, once for all, a beauty and propriety, which, in our admirable Liturgy, we may every where obſerve. I mean the extreme care of the church in framing introductions to her prayers and collects. In all her addreſſes to the Deity, ſhe has, it may almoſt be ſaid, uniformly ſelected ſuch titles, attributes and perfections, as are moſt appropriate to the petitions to which they are prefixed, and beſt calculated to produce correſpondent affections in the

" generals, in its applications for God's grace and protection; and " inſtance theſe expreſſions, *that we may do God's will, that we may be* " *kept from all evil, &c.* Now theſe are almoſt the very terms in " the Lord's Prayer: ſo that they muſt reform *that*, before they can " pretend to amend our Liturgy in theſe petitions." See Papers that paſſed between the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy Conference.*

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minds of those that use them. Whoever, with an eye to this point, will examine the prayers, and collects, throughout all our different offices, will be highly gratified, and convinced of the general truth of the remark. As an elucidation of the position, we take the introduction to the general confession, merely on account of its standing in the front of the Liturgy.

In this prayer we humbly confess our manifold sins to the God, whom we have offended, and supplicate his pardon. In the introductory part of the prayer, we address God, under the appellation of *Almighty and most merciful Father.*

The first title, *Almighty*, denotes the greatness of him, whom we have offended,--his Omnipotence and absolute dominion over all his creatures. Now the reflection that we have deliberately, and presumptuously offended that Being, from whose power there is no escaping, from whose wrath nothing can deliver us, must fill our hearts with terror and dismay:

But though we have offended a terrible and Almighty God, the second term, *most merciful Father*, reminds us, that he still retains the affections, as well as the name of a Father. Of all fathers he is the most merciful. His Omnipotence will teach us humility, and contrition. His infinite goodness will inspire faith and hope. If the terrors of the Almighty affright us, and seal up our lips, the contemplation of his mercy, and paternal pity, will open them again; and the united

ted ſenſe of theſe two perfections, will diſpoſe us to make a ſincere confeſſion, and prevailing ſupplication at the throne of grace.

In the firſt clauſe of the confeſſion, the church deſcribes our notorious violation of the divine law, under the figurative language dictated in holy Scripture by the ſpirit of God.

We have erred, and ſtrayed from thy ways like loſt ſheep.

This expreſſion is taken from Scripture. Chriſt Jeſus is "the Shepherd, and we the ſheep of his "paſture;" but "all we, like ſheep, have gone "aſtray. We have gone aſtray, like loſt ſheep, "and have turned every one to his own way. "Lord, ſeek thy ſervants." (Iſa. LIII. 6, Pſal. CXIX. 176.) To underſtand the propriety of the phraſe, it ſhould be obſerved, that in the eaſtern countries, which are open, and full of wild beaſts, the danger of ſtraying is great, and its conſequences too commonly fatal. Such "a great and terrible wilderneſs," in the ſpiritual ſenſe, is the world in which we live *.

By this one ſignificant metaphor † our manifold devia-

* Here, and in a few other places, I have enriched this edition with the valuable obſervations of Archbiſhop Secker.

† In Judea, and other eaſtern countries, where flocks and herds conſtituted the riches, and the feeding of them, the chief employment, of the principal inhabitants, practices prevailed, very different

deviations from the paths in which God has commanded us to walk, and our conſequent miſery and wretchedneſs are moſt beautifully deſcribed. 1. Of all gregarious animals the ſheep is moſt apt to ſtray. 2. When it does ſtray, none is expoſed to greater dangers. 3. And if it does not become the prey of its numerous enemies, none is leſs likely to return. 4. The probability is, that it would ſtray for ever and finally be loſt, did not the ſhepherd ſeek it and bring it back.

1. And how often have we, inobſervant of the ſhepherd's ſteps and regardleſs of his voice, forſaken the pure ſtreams and pleaſant paſtures, provided for us, and wandered into a dry and barren wilderneſs, where we have been left deſtitute of all true comfort and expoſed to innumerable dangers. 2. Sinful man, having once departed from the ſhepherd of his ſoul, becomes entangled in the thorns of worldly pleaſures and worldly cares; is enſnared by Satan, ſeduced by the wicked, and purſued by his own conſcience. He has neither ſtrength to contend with his enemies, nor power

rent from aught that we have been accuſtomed to ſee. Inſtead of a keeper following the ſheep, and the barbarous uſage of employing dogs on all occaſions to drive them, (for the uſe of dogs in Judea, was to defend the flocks from the wild beaſts of the foreſt, and the field, and to give notice of their approach,) the ſhepherd himſelf walked before the ſheep, whether he led them to paſture, water, or the fold. Iſa. LVI. 9, 10, 11. The ſhepherd's going before the ſheep, and leading them to pure waters, and verdant paſtures, is a very ſtriking and beautiful repreſentation of God's preventing grace, and continual help.

to fly from them. 3. Forgetting whence he is fallen, and ignorant how to return, he is loſt for ever; And, 4. will continue wandering in the broad way that terminates in final deſtruction, except through God's preventing grace, he turn, by confeſſion and repentance, to him, who came to ſeek and ſave what was loſt; to Jeſus Chriſt, the good ſhepherd, who laid down his life for the ſheep.

We have followed, &c.

Here the Church reminds us, that even in our confeſſion we muſt aſcribe glory to God, and take the ſhame of our tranſgreſſions to ourſelves. The corrupt inclination of our nature, and "the deſire of the fleſh,"* may entice, but they cannot compel men to ſin. We do not throw the blame of our ſins on the frailty of nature, the ſtrength of paſſion, or the violence of temptation; for this were making God the author of that ſin of which he is only the avenger.†

Neither do we accuſe our maker for giving, nor repine at having, theſe devices and deſires, but we condemn ourſelves for "following them "too much." What we confeſs and bewail is, that inſtead of regulating our imaginations, keeping our hearts with all diligence, and applying for the aſſiſtance of God's holy Spirit, we have fol-

* See 9th Article of Religion.

† Deus non eſt eorum ultor, quorum eſt auctor. *Fulgent.*

lowed

lowed the corrupt inclination of our nature, run into the arms of temptation, made a covenant with ſin, and thus have moſt notoriouſly tranſgreſſed God's laws, which are holy, juſt, and good.

Having with deep contrition acknowledged our ſinfulneſs in general, we proceed to be more particular, and divide our offences into two kinds.

We have left undone, &c., and we have done, &c.

Here we confeſs that we have neglected poſitive duties, and have committed actual offences. Theſe by divines have been denominated, ſins of *omiſſion*, and ſins of *commiſſion*.

Under the former head may be claſſed the duties of prayer, praiſe and thankſgiving; hearing and reading God's holy word, and frequenting the Lord's table; with the Chriſtian ſocial virtues of inſtructing the ignorant, relieving the diſtreſſed, comforting the afflicted, loving and doing good to all men; and the evangelical graces of faith, repentance, humility, and patience.

Among the ſins of *commiſſion* may be ranked, blaſphemy, perjury, and prophaneneſs; lying, and ſlandering; pride, malice, and revenge; gluttony, drunkenneſs, and luſt; covetouſneſs and oppreſſion; with every ſpecies of fraud and deceit, whether in deed or word*.

* For particular heads of ſelf-examination in private, and public mental confeſſion, reference may be had to the new whole Duty of Man, the Companion to the Altar; and Nelſon's Feſtivals and Faſts towards the concluſion, &c.

If

If we have omitted any of theſe duties, or performed them improperly; if we have committed many of theſe offences, or lived in the habitual practice of committing the leaſt of them, we muſt confeſs them, and repent of them. "The gates "of heaven are ſhut againſt all unexpiated ſin "under every form and in every degree *."

Having thus confeſſed our iniquities, we acknowledge, that

There is no health in us.

In the language of ſcripture, the diſeaſes of the body repreſent the diſtempers of the ſoul. The humble penitent, having examined himſelf, and being ſenſible of his condition, confeſſes to the great phyſician, to him who alone can "heal our ſouls," (Pſ. XLI. 4.) his total want of health. He finds, that his whole head is ſick with evil devices, and his whole heart faint with following evil deſires, (Iſa. I. 5, 6.) and that from the ſole of the foot even to the crown of his head, there is no health, nor ſoundneſs in him. Wounds and bruiſes diſtract his conſcience, and putrifying ſores, ariſing from internal corruption, overſpread his whole frame.

The words likewiſe imply, that we have no means of help and ſalvation. We have no power of ourſelves to help ourſelves, and "no man may

* See the Biſhop of London's two excellent Sermons on James II. 10.

"deliver his brother." (Pſ. xlix. 7.) In vain do we look for help, "to the hills and mountains," to the high and mighty. (Jer. iii. 23.) "*Salvation* is of the Lord." (Pſ. iii. 8.) To the Lord our God we therefore turn with weeping and ſupplications, and, in the remaining part of the confeſſion, make our petitions to him for help and deliverance.

Do thou, O Lord, have mercy, &c.

As *miſerable offenders*, we beſeech him to "have mercy upon us," to pity us, and pardon our ſins. Miſery is the proper object of mercy, and forgiveneſs peculiarly belongs to God.

Spare thou them, O God, &c.

Having confeſſed our faults, we entreat him to ſpare, and deliver us from the puniſhment due to them. We pray God not to inflict thoſe temporal evils, which our iniquities have deſerved, and above all to reſcue us from eternal condemnation.

Reſtore thou them, &c.

Being penitent we deſire him to "reſtore* to

* In Scripture, the word, here, and ofttimes, tranſlated reſtore, is occaſionally applied to the repairing and rebuilding of a ruinous and depopulated city;—too true an emblem of the deplorable ſtate of the ſoul, laid waſte by ſin; its beauty defaced, its ſtrength diſmantled, and its fair inhabitants, innocence and virtue, turned out of their ſacred manſions.—See Daniel's famous prediction of the Meſſiah, couched under the figurative language of reſtoring and rebuilding Jeruſalem. Dan. ix. 25.

"us

"us the joy of his ſalvation," (Pſ. LI. 12.) to readmit us to his favour, which we have loſt by our diſobedience; we beſeech him "to heal our "wounds, and to reſtore us to that health," (Jer. xxx. 17.) and ſpiritual vigour, which we have deſtroyed by following the devices and deſires of our own hearts.

According to thy promiſes, &c.

Theſe requeſts we are emboldened to make, in conſequence of God's gracious promiſes revealed in the Goſpel, which declare, that if we confeſs our ſins, and repent of them, we ſhall be ſpared, forgiven, and reſtored.

We ſay, "declared unto MANKIND in Chriſt "Jeſus, our Lord." For theſe promiſes were not made to the apoſtate angels, but to mankind alone.

Angels* are intelligent ſubſtances, the firſt in rank

* Reaſon, as well as Scripture, affords us ground to believe, that *Man* is the loweſt creature in the ſcale of reaſonable beings. As the chain of being deſcends from man to brute, from brute to inſect, ſo it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that by a beautiful gradation it aſcends from angel to arch-angel, and thoſe thouſand thouſands that ſtand before God, and thoſe ten thouſand times ten thouſand, that miniſter unto him. That among the angels there are degrees, is an opinion, which appears warranted by Scripture. Speculative men have reduced them into nine orders, according to the different names, by which the angels in ſcripture are denominated. And theſe nine orders they divide into three Hierarchies. To the firſt and higheſt order belong Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones. To

rank and dignity among created beings; and endowed with underſtanding and power far ſuperior to thoſe of human nature. Though they were all created perfect, yet ſome of them "kept not "their firſt eſtate." They fell*, and from the moſt

the ſecond, Dominions, Virtues, and Powers. To the third, Principalities, Arch-angels, and Angels.

As to their nature, whether they are pure Spirit, diveſted of Matter, or united to ſome thin Body, ſome corporeal vehicle, has long been a ſubject of controverſy. The ancient philoſophers, and ſome of the Chriſtian fathers, were of opinion, that Angels were cloathed with etherial fiery bodies, bodies of the ſame nature with thoſe we ſhall one day have, when we come to be equal to the angels. The more general opinion, eſpecially of latter times, has been, that they are ſubſtances entirely ſpiritual, poſſeſſing the power of aſſuming viſible bodies, and appearing in human forms and other ſhapes.

* *Pride* appears to have been their leading ſin and the cauſe of their fall. On what occaſion it ſhewed itſelf is uncertain. It has been preſumed, that admiring and valuing themſelves too much on the excellence of their nature and height of their ſtation, they came at length to entertain ſo little reſpect for their and our Creator, as to be guilty of direct apoſtacy and open rebellion.—From Scripture it is farther certain, that the number of the fallen angels is very great, and it ſeems to appear, that order and ſubordination are preſerved even among *them*. According to the Jews, their prince is Beelzebub, or Baal-zebub, which ſignifies the Maſter of Flies. But their proper head is the Devil or Satan: the former of theſe names ſignifies the *Accuſer*, and the latter *Hater*, or *Adverſary*. Whether the Devil was himſelf a fallen Angel and the grand Apoſtate by whom the others were ſeduced from allegiance; or whether he was originally created EVIL for the purpoſe of more fully diſplaying the divine attributes on the theatre of the Univerſe, ſome have entertained a doubt. Milton in his Paradiſe Loſt has aſſumed the former propoſition as the baſis of his poem. But this being a work

moſt bleſſed and glorious, became the moſt vile and miſerable of all God's creatures. As they fell, ſo they lie, "being reſerved in everlaſting "chains under darkneſs unto the Day of Judge-"ment," (Jude VI.) when they will be conſigned unto the fire originally "prepared for the Devil "and his Angels." (Matt. XXV. 41.) "Our re-"deemer taketh not hold of the (fallen) angels, "but of the ſeed of Abraham he taketh hold *." Towards mankind has God ſtretched forth his hand, and laid hold of them, and reſcued, and delivered them.

From the univerſality of the promiſe, ALL men, becauſe they are men, even the chief of ſinners, if they repent, may receive comfort and conſolation. But let none arrogate to himſelf, or his ſect, any peculiar intereſt, in the promiſes made through Jeſus Chriſt. If any private individual, or particular ſociety imagine, that they have any

a work of human invention, and calculated rather to amuſe the fancy than to afford any ſolid ground for belief, we ſhould be careful how far we admit the opinions of ſuch a writer for evangelical truths.—"Secret things belong to God; but thoſe that are revealed to us and our children." Deut. XXIX. 29.

* Marginal reading of Hebrews 16.—See alſo *Cameron*, *Grotius*, and *Hammond*.——The following is the obſervation of a learned friend: Much has been ſaid, and diſputed, upon the ἐπιλαμβάνεται of Heb. ii. 16. But after all, I think, our preſent public verſion, and not the marginal reading, expreſſes the true meaning of the text. Σπερμα ſignifies *nature* as well as *ſeed*: and is here relative to ἀγγέλων as well as to Ἀβραάμ. I therefore can ſee no reaſon, but a Socinian reaſon, to depart from the common tranſlation.

ſpecial intereſt in the redeemer's merits, or God's promiſes, I ſcruple not to pronounce, that the ſuggeſtion is the deluſion of the Devil, and betrays a *kind* of ſpiritual pride, which the grand Apoſtate himſelf could never ſurpaſs. As men and Chriſtians, we are thankful, that we are not particularly excluded. We humbly hope that the general promiſe made to all, will eventually extend to us. To ourſelves we modeſtly apply it, not becauſe we fancy, that we are favourites of heaven, or better than others, but becauſe we know, that we have offended, feel that we are miſerable, and are certain, that none can more ſtand in need of mercy than ourſelves.

In Chriſt Jeſu, our Lord.

In this clauſe the church has directed us to expreſs our faith, and plead the promiſes through Chriſt. As true repentance can originate only from a right belief, ſo a right belief muſt neceſſarily produce acceptable repentance *; and theſe two, which the revealed word of "God hath "joined together, let no man put aſunder." In the promiſes we truſt, becauſe they are made in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, who obtained them for us, and ſealed them by his blood, being appointed the mediator between God and man. He was the firſt, and greateſt promiſe, made to mankind in the ſeed of the woman, (Gen. III. 15.) and God

* Πιστεως η μετανοια εστιν κατορθωμα. *Clem. Al.*

who

who has given us him, and delivered him up for us all, will in his due time accompliſh the reſt. (Rom. VIII. 32.)

The Confeſſion concludes with a petition for grace to amend our lives, which we offer up through the merits and mediation of our redeemer.

And grant that we may hereafter, &c.

St. Paul ſums up the whole of practical Chriſtianity in "living ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, "in this preſent world;" (Tit. II. 12.) and this comprehenſive expreſſion, which includes all the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourſelves, the church has wiſely adopted in this part of her Liturgy. Her ſenſe could not have been conveyed, in ſtronger, or in plainer terms. Let us remember, that we ſhould not only ardently pray, but earneſtly endeavour, to exerciſe piety and devotion towards God; to practiſe honeſty, fidelity and charity to our fellow-creatures; and to govern ourſelves, our ſouls and bodies, with humility, moderation, and Chriſtian ſobriety.

In the concluding words,

To the glory of thy holy name,

the church reminds us that the advancement of God's honor and glory, ſhould be the conſtant aim, and ultimate end of all our actions. We ſhould live godly, ſoberly, and righteouſly, not for our own credit, nor to obtain the approbation of men, but to promote the honor and glory of God's holy name. And when we have done all, we muſt

in gratitude caſt that all at the feet of *his* glory, by whoſe long ſuffering, mercy, grace, and aſſiſtance, we are ſpared, forgiven, reſtored, and enabled "to amend our lives according to his holy "word."

To evince the earneſtneſs of our petitions, our faith in the promiſes, and our hope of acceptance; to teſtify at the ſame time, that we have one Lord, one Faith, and one Hope, with one voice and one mouth at the end of the Confeſſion, we ſum up all, in one audible, hearty, devout AMEN.

ON AMEN *.

AMEN is originally an Hebrew term, in which language, with its numerous derivatives, it ſignifies truth, fidelity, ſtability. By our Saviour it is often repeated as a ſtrong affirmation, and is tranſlated *verily, verily.*

Amen, in our Liturgy, is addreſſed ſometimes to God and ſometimes to men. Here and after

* AMEN is one of the few words that have been conſtantly retained without tranſlation into the popular language, by all Chriſtian churches to this day. Many churches have likewiſe uniformly preſerved *Alleluiah* and *Hoſannah*, as we have done in our tranſlation of the Scripture. In theſe words ſome think they obſerve more energy than in any terms their own languages afford. But the church of England, in her Liturgy has ventured to tranſlate *Alleluiah* into "Praiſe ye the Lord;" and *Hoſannah*, with ſome ſmall variation, ſhe has rendered, "O God, make ſpeed to ſave "us."

all

all the prayers, it is adreſſed to God, and, according to our catechiſm, means *ſo be it*. It is itſelf a prayer, and may be thus paraphraſed. "Confirm to us, O Lord, realize, and verify all "the bleſſings, and benefits that we have prayed "for."

But after a Creed, it is a ſolemn aſſeveration made in the preſence of the whole congregation, declaring an unfeigned belief of every article therein expreſſed. Here it is equivalent to verily or truly, and may be paraphraſed, "True and "ſincere is the confeſſion of faith that we have "now made."

It has the ſame import, when pronounced after the ſentences from Scripture, which are read in the *Commination* on the firſt day of Lent. In that ſolemn penitential office, (the object of which, ſome, calling themſelves Chriſtians, have ſhamefully miſrepreſented, and others of our own communion appear not ſufficiently to underſtand,) the church has aſſigned the reaſons, for which theſe ſentences are recited, and has likewiſe defined the meaning of Amen.

Till penitentiary diſcipline, univerſally practiſed in the antient church, may be reſtored to the church of England, the preface informs us, it is thought good, that, at certain ſeaſons, ſome general ſentences, containing God's denunciation againſt impenitent ſinners, ſhould be read to us, and that we ſhould anſwer to every ſentence Amen:

Amen*: to the intent, that being admoniſhed of the great indignation of God againſt ſinners, we may be moved to true repentance, to walk warily, and to flee from thoſe vices, for which (by anſwering Amen) *we affirm with our own mouths* the curſe of God to be due †.

From St. Paul we learn, that in the apoſtolic age the people "ſaid Amen at the bleſſing and "giving of thanks," (1 Cor. xiv. 16.) and the Fathers teſtify that the practice was continued in ſucceeding ages ‡. We farther find that the primitive Chriſtians, who on certain days, (eſpecially on Sundays, and on all days between Eaſter and Pentecoſt §,) performed their adorations ſtanding, uſually pronounced Amen with a loud voice.

In alluſion to both of theſe cuſtoms, Clement of Alexandria ſays "at the concluding acclama-"tion of the prayer, (meaning at Amen) they "raiſed themſelves upon their tip-toes, endea-"vouring as it were to lift up their bodies as

* This is evidently derived from Deut. xxvii.

† See *Commination* in our Liturgy.

‡ That Amen was ſaid at the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*, Irenæus and Tertullian, two of the moſt ancient Chriſtian writers, prove. (Iren. lib. i. c. 1. Tert. de Spect. c. 25. on which ſee Rigalt's Notes.)—This primitive cuſtom appears to have been apoſtolical. Compare this paſſage (1. Cor. xiv. 16.) with 1. Cor. x. 16, and ſee Grot. on Matt. xxvi. 26.

§ This was done in honor of our Lord's Reſurrection.

"well-

" well as their ſouls, to heaven*." The practice of uttering Amen after prayers and praiſes, with loud and united voices, gave occaſion to the verſe,

Et reſonaturis ferit æthera vocibus AMEN.

Jerom informs us, that at Rome, in his time, the people anſwered *Amen* with a voice ſo loud that it reſembled a peal of thunder†; and the Jews had a proverbial ſaying, that the gate of the garden of Eden is opened to him who anſwers *Amen* with all his might ‡.

It may not be proper to recommend to modern Chriſtians too cloſe an imitation of theſe examples, but hence we may take occaſion to obſerve, that Amen ſhould be ſolemnly pronounced by the whole congregation with a diſtinct and audible voice.

Strom. 7.

† Ad ſimilitudinem cœleſtes tonitrui AMEN reboat.

‡ The Jews who anſwered Amen at the end of each prayer, thus deſcribe its efficacy:—Præſtantior cenſetur ille, amplioremque dignitatis gradum adipiſcitur, qui cum attentione et religione Amen reſpondet, quàm is qui preces concipit. *(Talmud.)* Similitudine, id illuſtrant ſapientes, Scribæ, qui alterius nomine literas ſcribat, quas poſtea is, cujus nomine ſcriptæ ſunt, ſigno ſuo conſignet: tum demum enim literæ illæ confirmantur, autoritatem acquirunt, et obſervantur: Sic etiam, qui Amen ad preces reſpondent, precibus ſigillum imprimunt, quæ hâc ratione vires acquirunt. *Buxt. Syn. Jud.*

RUBRIC

RUBRIC

BEFORE THE ABSOLUTION.

By this Rubric, the Abſolution, or Remiſſion of ſins, is directed to be pronounced by the prieſt alone. The meaning of which words I apprehend to be, that no Layman or Deacon, none under the order of a prieſt, ſhall, either in the private exerciſe of piety, or in the public ſervice of the church, repeat the Abſolution.

That it ſhould not be read by a Layman, is a poſition, which requires no proof. And I mention it here, principally for the ſake of noticing more particularly, what was obſerved before, that the Morning and Evening Prayer, in the original deſignation of our reformers, was not meant to be ſaid in churches only, but was likewiſe appointed for the ſervice of God, in places not ſet apart for public worſhip, and was intended for the uſe of individuals, and private families*.

From the *Royal Injunctions*, prefixed to the old Engliſh Primers, which were principally compoſed of the ſervices of the church, and which we muſt regard, as ſo many auſpicious preludes to

* The pious practice of reading daily a portion of the Holy Scriptures, and a part of the Morning and Evening Offices, which was very general with our Proteſtant forefathers, ſome families laudably retain.

our

our Book of Common Prayer, it appears, that they were intended to be aids in private devotion, and guides in the performance of family worſhip; and not merely elementary tracts for the inſtruction of children, in the rudiments of letters and religion*. Accordingly, the preface to Edwards' ſecond Book of Common Prayer, evidently preſumes, that the Morning and Evening Services were uſed, not only in family worſhip, but alſo by individuals, in their private devotions †. That on theſe occaſions, none of the Laity might ignorantly, and irreverently, ruſh into what is more

* See the various Primers, publiſhed in the reign of Henry VIII. They were commonly Printed in Latin on one ſide of the page, and Engliſh on the other. One, of 1543, is entitled "A right Godly "Rule how all Chriſtians ought to occupy and exerciſe themſelves "in the Uſe of their daily Prayers." In another. "The King's "Command willeth all his loving ſubjects to learn and uſe the ſame." The injunctions prefixed to one of 1546 ſtate, that the Primers were "ſet forth to be uſed of the elder people, as well as of the youth, "for their *common, and ordinary Prayer.*"

† The original Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, beginning, *There was never any thing by the wit of man ſo well deviſed*, is univerſally retained in all larger legitimate Editions, and in many of the ſmaller. By the reviewers of 1661, it was entitled *Concerning the Service of the Church*, and placed after their Preface, beginning, "It hath been the wiſdom, &c.," which was moſt probably compoſed by Bp. Sanderſon. The concluſion of the ancient Preface, which is now commonly divided into three paragraphs, and diſtinguiſhed by inverted commas, was added at the reviſion of Edwards' Book. The firſt of theſe paragraphs permits "Men the "uſe of any language they *underſtand*, when they ſay Morning and "Evening Prayer *privately*." See alſo the ſecond paragraph.

pecu-

peculiarly the office of the prieſt, the church ordained, that the Abſolution ſhould be pronounced by the prieſt alone.

That it muſt not be read in the congregation by a deacon, is a part of my argument, which will not be ſo readily granted. For of all the queſtions relative to Common Prayer, that have been diſcuſſed, among the members of our eſtabliſhment, few, I apprehend, have been more frequently agitated, and none more commonly left undecided, than this,--Is it lawful and right for a Deacon to read the Abſolution?

On the affirmative ſide of the queſtion, ſtand the authority, and the arguments of Dr. Bennet, who has advanced nearly all, that has ſince been brought forward in favour of the practice. He thinks "that a mere Deacon has as much autho-" rity to pronounce this form, as he has to ſay " the firſt of the ſentences in the Morning Prayer, " *When the wicked man, &c.*, or to preach a ſer-" mon about repentance;" and concludes "it to " be a vulgar miſtake, which makes the Deacons " deviate from their rule, and omit the form, " or exchange it for a collect."

Of the impropriety of introducing a collect, we ſhall ſpeak, after we have inquired at whoſe door the miſtake lies, and ſeen whether Deacons do deviate from their rule, by omitting the Abſolution.

Every one, I conceive, muſt admit, that the church

church of England allows Deacons, in ſome inſtances, to pronouce Abſolution. They have "authority to read Homilies in the church, to "read the Goſpel, and to preach the ſame, if "they are licenſed thereto by the Biſhop: and in "the abſence of the prieſt they may baptize*."

Now by baptizing and preaching the Goſpel, they may, in the moſt ſtrict and proper ſenſe of the words, be ſaid to adminiſter Abſolution. In both caſes however their authority is limited. "They may baptize," but only "in the abſence "of the prieſt."--They may not preach the Goſpel, except "they be admitted and licenſed "thereto by the Biſhop himſelf †."

Here the rulers of our church have directed "the Abſolution, or remiſſion of ſins, to be pro-"nounced by the prieſt alone." Had we no other guide, beſides the words of the Rubric, to direct us, the intention of the church would be extremely queſtionable. In ſuch a caſe, as the word *prieſt* in the Rubrics often means no more than the officiating miniſter, and as there is nothing in this form, which a Deacon may not pronounce, one might be diſpoſed to ſubſcribe to the opinion of Dr. Bennet, and conclude that a Deacon may read this Abſolution.

But the church has explained her meaning without ambiguity, and beyond the poſſibility of doubt. By the ſtatute, enacted in conformity to the opi-

* Form for ordering Deacons. † Ordination Office.

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nion of the Epiſcopalian commiſſioners, appointed in 1661, to review the Liturgy, every Deacon is expreſsly forbidden to pronounce the Abſolution: a circumſtance which appears to have eſcaped the obſervation of the author of the Paraphraſe, and to be unknown to the Deacons, who purſue the practice he recommends.

At this review the Preſbyterian divines requeſt that "whereas the word Miniſter, and not Prieſt "or Curate, ſtands in the Rubric for the Abſo- "lution*, and divers other places, this uſage "may be continued."---To this propoſal the church of England commiſſioners reply, that "It "is not reaſonable the word *miniſter* only ſhould

* The poſition laid down by the Preſbyterians, though apparently admitted by the Epiſcopalian divines, is not ſtrictly true. Wheatley indeed has told us, "that in all the books till the reſtoration of "Charles the word in the Rubric was *miniſter*, and not *prieſt*." (P. 124, Sixth Edition.) But when Mr. Wheatley does not copy from preceding writers, we cannot depend upon his authority. L'Eſtrange, who was commonly under Wheatley's eye, has ſaid, that the word *prieſt* was here changed into *miniſter* by James's reviewers. (Alliance of Divine Offices. Annotation, c. III.) I ſuſpect this to be an accidental error, and that L'Eſtrange meant exactly the reverſe; for the word *miniſter* ſtands here in Elizabeth's books. In *L'Eſtrange*'s own Text, in *Bp. Sparrow*'s *Rationale*, both of which were publiſhed before the laſt review, and in the greater part of the books printed in the reigns of James and Charles, that have fallen under my inſpection, the word is *prieſt*, and not *miniſter*. I think the declaration of the Preſbyterian divines reconcileable with theſe facts, only on the ſuppoſition that they diſregarded the changes made in the reigns of James and Charles, and referred to the book of Elizabeth, which was eſtabliſhed by law.

"be-

" be uſed in the Common Prayer. For ſince ſome " parts of the Liturgy may be performed by a " Deacon; and others, ſuch as Abſolution and " Conſecration *, by none under the order of a " prieſt, it is fit, that ſome ſuch word as prieſt " ſhould be uſed for thoſe offices which are ap- " propriated to his character, the word miniſter " being of too looſe and lax a ſignification for this " pur-

* Deacons were ranked among the " ſacred orders" of the primitive church; and ſpeaking in general terms, we may, without any great violation of propriety, call their office in the church of England, an inferior degree of prieſthood. It is true, that their miniſterial authority, as well as their perſonal influence, ſubject, in a conſiderable degree, to the change of opinion, time and circumſtance, has not, in all churches and ages, uniformly been the ſame —In the delegation of miniſterial power to her Deacons, the church of England has exerciſed that " wiſdom and moderation" for which ſhe is eminently conſpicuous, and in her Form of Ordination has well defined the duty " that appertaineth to the office of a " Deacon."

1. In the ancient church we find that Deacons have preſumed in ordinary caſes to adminiſter the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, that is, " to perform Conſecration," or conſecrate the elements; for " to aſſiſt the biſhop or prieſt in the diſtribution of the bread " and wine" peculiarly appertains to their office. (*Morin. de Sac. Pœnit.* Lib. VIII. c. 24. and *Bingham Eccl. Antiq.* Lib. II. c. 20.) ——The decrees of the council of York (A. D. 1194,) authoriſe the practice in caſes of emergency. The innovation in the former inſtance, which no where became general, the rulers of the church ſpeedily ſuppreſſed: and if throughout England, the latter practice was continued for a length of time, it was by the reformation completely aboliſhed. In our church " Conſecration can be performed " by none under the order of a prieſt."

" purpoſe *."---Accordingly the word prieſt, in the ſtrict meaning of the term, and in contradiſtinction to the word Deacon, was retained † in the Rubric; and the ſenſe of the church commiſſioners, aſcertained through the objection of the Preſbyterian divines, was ratified by Parliament.

2. In the Weſtern church, Deacons were, under peculiar circumſtances, empowered to adminiſter Abſolution. If the practice did not originate with Cyprian, it was ſanctioned by him, when Biſhop of Carthage; it is mentioned by various writers, and prevailed for many centuries. But it no where appears, as the learned Morinus has obſerved, that this power was given to Deacons in the Greek church. Our reformers, in this inſtance, conform to the regulations of the Greek church, and enjoin " the Abſolution " or remiſſion of ſins to be pronounced by the prieſt alone."

3. The power " to baptize, in caſes of neceſſity," was much more generally given to Deacons by thoſe churches, which doubted, or denied their official authority to baptize on ordinary occaſions. Thus in our own country the celebrated councils of York (mentioned before) and of London (held A. D. 1200) which here ſpeak the general ſenſe of the Weſtern church, ordain, that, " when the *infant* " is dangerouſly ill," (mors imminet *puero*) " and the prieſt abſent, " the Deacon may baptize him."

But Tertullian (de Baptiſmo, c. 17.) and Jerom, (Adv. Luciferianos, c. 4.) the latter of whom was little diſpoſed to allow Deacons the unmoleſted exerciſe of powers that did not ſtrictly " apper- " tain to their office;" (See his invectives againſt their uſurpations, Ep. LXXXV. ad Euag.) both maintain, that a Deacon may, in all caſes, baptize, as well as a prieſt. The church of England has decreed, that " it is the Deacon's office to baptize, in the abſence of " the prieſt."—

* Eleventh Exception of the Preſbyterian Divines, and the anſwer of the church commiſſioners at the Savoy Conference.

† It had ſtood in many copies above fifty years.

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The ſimple ſtatement of the fact amounts to ſomething more than a complete refutation of the arguments of Dr. Bennet. It is a final deciſion of the diſpute, made by the higheſt authority in theſe realms.

Were farther proof wanting, that according to the exiſting regulations of the church of England, a Deacon may not read the Abſolution, the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners appointed in 1691 to reviſe the Liturgy, have furniſhed us with one full to the purpoſe. They knew, that as matters then ſtood, none but a prieſt could lawfully read the Abſolution, and, therefore, among other alterations, they propoſed, that a Rubric ſhould be made authoriſing a Deacon to read it*. Their propoſed alterations, it is well known, were never carried into effect, and the whole of the project was entirely abandoned. Of courſe the law empowering a prieſt alone to pronounce the Abſolution, remains unaltered, and in full force.

Dr. Bennet modeſtly declares, that he is far from deſiring any perſon to be determined by him, and refers the Deacons to their reſpective ordinaries, whoſe directions in diſputable matters, he

* They likewiſe propoſed "that theſe words *and remiſſion* be "put out of the Rubric, as not *very intelligible.*" *Birch's Life of Tillotſon.* The reaſon is ſomewhat curious. In the Liturgy of the Epiſcopalian church of America, the Rubric before the Abſolution runs thus, *A Declaration, concerning the Forgiveneſs of Sins, to be made, &c.*

juſtly obſerves, are the beſt rule of conſcience. But I would aſk, do the proofs, that have been alledged, leave the point diſputable? Have the Biſhops in this inſtance any diſcretionary or diſpenſing power? For the reſolution of doubts, and the prevention of diverſity of practice, we are directed to conſult our ordinaries. On account of their ſuperior experience, knowledge, and diſcretion, and more eſpecially in conſequence of their ſtation, as the ſpiritual guides and rulers of the church, they are wiſely inveſted, in doubtful caſes, with a decretory and definitive power *. But this power is definite, and the exerciſe of it limited. The Biſhops have neither authority nor inclination, to licence a clergyman in the performance of the offices preſcribed by the church, to act contrary to any thing "contained" and expreſsly declared "in the book of Common Prayer."

What courſe then is an officiating Deacon to purſue, when he comes to the Abſolution? "He

* For the reſolution of all doubts, concerning the manner how to underſtand, do, and execute the things contained in this book, the parties ſhall reſort to the Biſhop of the dioceſe, who by his diſcretion ſhall take order for the quieting and appeaſing of the ſame; ſo that the ſame order be not contrary to any thing contained in this book. *Concerning the Service of the Church.* The propriety and neceſſity of lodging ſuch powers in the hands of our ſpiritual ſuperiors, was ſo evident to Jerom, that, without ſuch regulations, he ſcruples not to ſay, we ſhould ſoon have in the church, *tot ſchiſmata quot ſacerdotes.*—*Adv. Lucifer.*

"is,"

" is," ſays a modern commentator on the Liturgy *; " to offer up ſome ſhort prayer in its ſtead." Inſtead of a naked aſſertion, we ſhould have been obliged to this writer for favouring us with ſomething like the grounds on which his opinion is founded.

If a Deacon, a perſon of the loweſt *order* in the church, and one, who is not expected to poſſeſs any very conſiderable degree of ritual knowledge, is at liberty, without any lawful proviſion, expreſſed or implied, to alter the ſervice here, and to introduce whatever prayer his private judgment may ſuggeſt †, what is the uſe of an "act for uniformity?" If the preſcribed form of Common Prayer may be altered in one inſtance, who does not ſee that it may, by different perſons, be violated in all?

The ſubject naturally leads me to mark another irregularity, which the friends of the church will hear, if not with indignation, yet certainly with regret. In ſome places, even within the metro-

* *P. Waldo, Eſq.*—This gentleman has publiſhed a valuable Tract on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which has been taken into the liſt of books, diſperſed by the *Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge*, and is ſold by Meſſrs. Rivington.

† The prayer that is commonly uſed by Deacons, is taken from the concluſion of the Commination. But if any were admiſſible, it is evident, I think, that the preference ought to be given to *the prayer which may be ſaid after any of the former*, and in correct copies ſtands before the prayer for parliament. It may with peculiar propriety be called a *precatory Abſolution*.

polis, when a charity ſermon is to be preached, the appointed leſſons are omitted, and others are ſubſtituted, which the officiating miniſter fancies to be better adapted to the occaſion.

The collect for the Sunday before Lent has likewiſe often been added to the ordinary ſervice. But this collect is miſapplied, probably becauſe it is miſunderſtood. Charity, the moſt beauteous and lovely of the Chriſtian virtues, is not confined to liberality to the indigent, or relief to the diſtreſſed. Though we do more than "give all our "goods to feed the poor," yet we may be deſtitute of charity. Our hearts may ſtill be devoid of love to God, and love to man, and then all our faith, hope, and almſgiving will "profit us no-"thing."—What is yet more ſurpriſing, clergymen, in other reſpects men of judgment and diſcretion, have been known ſeriouſly to undertake the defence of this manifeſt impropriety.

Of theſe irregularities our ſpiritual rulers muſt diſapprove, and their practice ought to deter every clergyman from attempting ſuch innovations. They do not think themſelves at liberty to make the ſlighteſt deviation from the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip. Was it ever known, that at an Epiſcopal viſitation, where the clergy compoſe a principal part of the audience, the ſmalleſt alteration took place in the performance of the daily ſervice?—At the anniverſary of one of the moſt conſpicuous

ſpicuous charitable inſtitutions* in this kingdom, which the two archbiſhops, the biſhops, and many of the dignified clergy think it their duty to attend, the ordinary collects and leſſons are invariably read. In a word all wilful deviation from the ſervice appointed is indecent, irregular, illegal, and amounts to little leſs than a direct violation of ordination vows.

If a Deacon is neither to read the Abſolution, nor to ſubſtitute a prayer in its room, what is he to do? The rule is plain, and leaves him no alternative. After the Confeſſion he is to remain kneeling, and to proceed to the Lord's Prayer. This always appeared to me to be the neceſſary, and only concluſion, to be drawn from the premiſes. Suſpecting, however the validity of my own arguments, I requeſted the opinion of a reſpectable divine, for whoſe modeſty I have ſuch regard, that I dare deſcribe him only as having been for many years the confidential and intimate friend of Bp. Lowth. By his judgment the opinion already given was ſanctioned and confirmed. In conſequence of farther inquiry I have ſince learned that the heads of a cathedral church, lately recommended the ſame practice. It is the buſineſs of *prieſt vicars*, I underſtand in ſome cathedrals, to read Morning and Evening Prayer: and it *once* happened, that a Deacon was appointed a prieſt

* Feaſt of the Sons of the Clergy, celebrated at St. Paul's.

vicar. When it came to his turn to officiate, he was directed to "omit the Abſolution, and after "the Confeſſion to ſay the Lord's Prayer."

Another ſenſe of the words *prieſt alone*, is that when the Abſolution is read, the people are not to repeat, nor mutter it after the miniſter. It is an authoritative addreſs made by him to them; a declaration of God's will, pronounced by his meſſenger, to which it is the duty of the people to liſten with reverence.

The prieſt is required to pronounce the Abſolution *ſtanding*, becauſe ſtanding is the attitude in which a perſon ſpeaking generally addreſſes an aſſembly, and becauſe this declaration of Abſolution is an act of ſacerdotal authority. The people are to continue *kneeling*, in token of the humility, with which they ought to receive the joyful tidings of pardon, and Abſolution from Almighty God, pronounced by the mouth of his miniſter.

THE ABSOLUTION,

OR REMISSION OF SINS.

The doctrine of Abſolution*, as it is delivered in the ſacred records of the New Teſtament, and the

Abſolution, is derived from the Latin word *abſolvo*, which, in its

the writings of the primitive fathers, is a ſubject of difficult elucidation; and to treat of it at large would lead into a field of diſſertation too wide to be entered upon here. I ſhall therefore at preſent, confine my remarks to that particular form of Abſolution, which occurs in the order for daily prayer*.

The propriety of introducing the Abſolution in this part of our daily ſervice is acknowledged without reſerve by Calvin, whoſe immenſe learning, and extraordinary abilities, no one will diſpute. This diſtinguiſhed inſtrument of the reformation, who was not remarkable for his partiality to the reform made in England†, delivers here the opinion of his colleagues, as well as his own. "We are every one of us," ſays Calvin‡, "ready.

its primitive ſignification, is to looſe, to untie; the Abſolution, or Remiſſion of Sins, being an act, ſimilar to that of looſing a chain, or untying a cord, with which a perſon or thing is tied and bound.

* A fuller account of Abſolution will be found at the end of the volume.

† He ſays the Engliſh Liturgy, meaning Edward's, contains ſome fooleries not abſolutely intolerable, (tolerabiles ineptias.)

‡ Confeſſioni publicæ adjungere inſignem aliquam promiſſionem, quæ peccatores ad ſpem veniæ et reconciliationis, erigat, nemo noſtrûm eſt qui non agnoſcat utiliſſimum eſſe.—Atque ab initio hunc morem inducere volui: ſed quum offenſionem quidam ex novitate metuerent, nimium facilis fui ad cedendum—Ita res omiſſa eſt—Nunc verò non eſſet opportunum hic quicquam mutare; quia, antequam ad finem confeſſionis ventum fuerit, magna pars incipit ſurgere. Quò magis optamus, dum vobis integrum eſt, populum veſtrum

"dy to admit that after a general confeſſion, to "ſubjoin ſome ſignal promiſe, which may excite "hope of pardon and reconciliation, is a very uſe- "ful and beneficial practice.—And from the very "beginning, I was deſirous of adopting this me- "thod, but I yielded too eaſily to the apprehen- "ſions of others *."

The want of a form of Abſolution in a Liturgy, which Calvin regrets, is certainly a defect. It is a defect however, which may, in a conſiderable degree be ſupplied by reading and expounding the Scriptures, and by preaching. For preaching, as well as Abſolution, is a declaratory application of God's promiſes of pardon and forgiveneſs, and has, like it, been called, the Key of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The church of England places the Abſolution, or Remiſſion of Sins, immediately after the General Confeſſion. The whole congregation having, agreeably to the directions given in the Exhortation, confeſſed their ſins, with an humble, lowly,

ad utrumque aſſuefieri. *Calv. Reſpon. de Eccl. Rit.* p. 206, of the edition of Amſterdam, in 1668.

* Calvin's own account of his facility merits attention. In his character flexibility of diſpoſition appears to be a lineament either ſo faint, or ſo obſcured by more prominent features of a different caſt, that it has generally eſcaped vulgar obſervation. His panegyriſt, the learned tranſlator of Moſheim's Eccl. Hiſt., deſcribes him as ſurpaſſing moſt of the reformers "in *Obſtinacy, Aſperity, and Turbulence.*"

penitent,

penitent, and obedient heart, and remaining depreſſed under the ſenſe of their iniquities, are in a ſituation, that peculiarly requires the aid of ſpiritual conſolation. Now therefore is the proper ſeaſon, for the ambaſſador of Chriſt to exerciſe, "the miniſtry," and to pronounce the "word of "reconciliation, given and committed" to him. (2. Cor. v. 18, 19.) The prieſt therefore ſtands up, and in a ſolemn manner, pronounces to the people pardon and Abſolution.

This Abſolution conſiſts of two parts.—1. A declaration of "pardon, and forgiveneſs of ſins," made by the miniſter of God to "all thoſe "who truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the "Goſpel." 2. This is followed by an Exhortation, which directs, how Abſolution may be obtained, and encourages us to apply for it, by exhibiting the ineſtimable benefits that attend it.

Upon the authority of Almighty God, who, avows himſelf the pardoner of iniquity, tranſgreſſion, and ſin, (Exod. xxxiv. 7.) and who, for the confirmation of our hope, has ſworn by himſelf, that he deſireth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he may be converted and live, (Ezek. xxxiii. 11.) the miniſter of the Goſpel pronounces this Abſolution. The prieſts, as the meſſengers of Chriſt, are commanded to reſtore them that fall, (Gal. vi. 1.) to comfort the feeble minded, (1. Theſſ. v. 14.) and, under the ſimili-

tude

tude of ſhepherds, are ſeverely threatened, if through their neglect ſhould periſh any of "the "ſheep of Chriſt, whom he bought with his death, "and for whom he ſhed his blood *."

That no ſinner may deſpair of mercy, or be diſcouraged from applying to God for forgiveneſs, the prieſt, by virtue of the commiſſion, ſo often repeated in the Goſpel, aſſures the congregation, that all penitent believers are looſed from the chains of their ſins; that their guilt is abſolved, and its puniſhment remitted.

The prieſt does not abſolve in his own name. He ſimply promulgates the terms of pardon, granted by the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. That this may be miſunderſtood by none, is probably one reaſon, for which our form repeats the nominative caſe. "He †," that is, *Almighty God*, "pardoneth and abſolveth all them that truly re-

* Ordination Office.

† In the mode of conſtructing this ſentence, the compilers of our Liturgy appear to have imitated the plural or general Abſolution of the old *Ordo Romanus*, which runs thus:—Dominus Jeſus Chriſtus, qui dignatus eſt diſcipulis ſuis dicere, quæcunque ligaveritis ſuper terram——et quæcunque ſolveritis——: ipſe vos abſolvere dignetur.—This form is precatory, and ours declaratory: they differ in expreſſion but in meaning they nearly agree. In both, we obſerve a long parentheſis, and a repetition of the preceding nominative caſe, implied in *ipſe*, and *He*.—By a very ſmall alteration in the words of our form, and none in the ſenſe, the framers of the American Liturgy have improved the conſtruction.—*Who*, near the beginning, is omitted, and the period ends with *Remiſſion of Sins*. *He*, &c., of courſe, begins a new ſentence.

"pent,

" pent, and unfeignedly believe his Holy Gof-
" pel."

Should there in a mixed congregation be any hypocritical worſhipper, whoſe faith is feigned, and whoſe confeſſion, and penitence, are inſincere, to him the Abſolution gives no encouragement. It ſimply declares to him that there is forgiveneſs with God, and points out the terms on which it is granted. To thoſe that truly repent, it conveys the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of Remiſſion of ſins, and acceptance with God. To thoſe that do not repent, it is an admonition that they ſhould repent, if they deſire to be pardoned and forgiven. Whilſt it affords to the good, the greateſt comfort and ſupport, it gives the wicked no ground either to preſume, or to deſpair. Being publickly pronounced to all, each individual is to take that portion, which peculiarly belongs to himſelf.

In the ſecond part of the Abſolution the miniſter proceeds to remind us of the means by which the bleſſings of pardon and reconciliation may be obtained. He exhorts us, to beſeech God to grant us " true repentance," repentance unto ſalvation, which HE alone can give, and " his holy ſpirit," to deliver us from all deadly ſin, to help our infirmities, to invigorate our faith, to excite our hope, to purify our hearts, to engage our obedience, and more eſpecially to aſſiſt us in the things

" that

" that we do at this preſent," the Oblation of our prayers and praiſes.

For our encouragement he adds that if we thus apply to God, and to our prayers join our own beſt endeavours, the reſult will be, 1. preſent acceptance, 2. future aſſiſtance, And 3. everlaſting happineſs. 1. " Thoſe things which we do at " this preſent," our Confeſſion, Abſolution, Prayers, Praiſes, Thankſgivings, and all the ſervices we perform in the houſe of God, will be well pleaſing in his ſight. 2. Our lives hereafter, directed by the guidance of his holy ſpirit, will be pure from their former ſins, and in all reſpects, virtuous and holy. And, 3. at the laſt, we ſhall receive the reward of our faith and obedience, " his eternal joy," through the merits of our bleſſed Redeemer, who by his precious death has purchaſed for us pardon, and Abſolution from all our ſins, is now a prevailing interceſſor with the Father for the bleſſings we implore, and will at his return to judge the world receive us into thoſe heavenly manſions, which he is gone before to prepare, for every true penitent and ſincere believer.

The Rubric that follows the Abſolution directs the people, here and at the end of all other prayers, to ſay Amen *. By anſwering Amen the people declare,

* In many of the old books, and in all the correcter editions of the preſent book, it is obſervable, that *Amen* is ſometimes printed in

declare, that the Abſolution pronounced by the miniſter is verified and confirmed in heaven, and that they earneſtly beſeech God to grant them true repentance, and his holy ſpitit.

RUBRIC

in the ſame character with the form preceding, and ſometimes in a character different from it. In modern editions after Confeſſions, Creeds, and the Lord's Prayer, in the different offices, it ſtands in the Roman character, and after abſolutions, Collects, &c., in the Italic.—The diſtinction has been thus accounted for. "In the latter "caſe the miniſter is to ſtop at the end of the prayer, and to leave "the Amen to be ſaid by the people: when it is printed in Roman "letters, he is to pronounce Amen himſelf, and thus to direct the "people to do the ſame." (Wheatley.) But I ſuſpect this was not the meaning of the church, for I can ſee no reaſon for the miniſter's pronouncing Amen at the end of the *Confeſſion*, which has not an equal tendency to prove, that he ſhould pronounce it after *every Collect and Prayer*. In the Confeſſion, it may be argued, he acknowledges his *own offences*, as well as thoſe of the people, and therefore ſhould ſay Amen. Upon the ſame principle it may be replied, in the Prayers and Collects, he offers up his *own ſupplications*, as well as thoſe of the People, and therefore ſhould ſay Amen.

On this particular point I do not recollect that I have ever been fortunate enough to meet with any authentic document. Wheatley delivers his opinion merely as a ſuppoſition of his own, and his arguments in its ſupport do not carry conviction with them. The following hypotheſis may, perhaps, appear, as improbable to others, as Wheatley's reaſons are unſatisfactory to me.

Generally ſpeaking, the parts of the ſervice, to be performed by the people, are in our books of Common Prayer, diſtinguiſhed in two ways, either by a rubrical direction, or by ſimply printing their reſponſes in *Italic*; but not by both of theſe together. In the leſſer Litany always, and often in the alternate ſupplications, diſperſed through our offices, Italic characters alone mark what is to be ſaid by the people. When their reſponſe appears in Roman, it is always

preceded

RUBRIC

BEFORE THE LORD'S PRAYER.

In the ancient church, ſome parts of the Liturgy were ſaid by the prieſt, in a low unintelligible voice; within himſelf, privately *, &c., as the different Rubrics expreſs it. And ſome parts were ſaid privately, by both the miniſter and people. In the manner laſt mentioned, the Lord's

preceded by *Anſwer*, or ſome other rubrical direction. As an inſtance of each mode, take the two laſt reſponſes, made by the people, in the ſupplications towards the concluſion of the Litany. Even *Amen*, which is generally printed in Italic, in ſome places, where it alone is appointed to be ſaid by the people, ſtands in *Roman* letters. See Amen after each of the ſentences in the Commination. ——And what is the reaſon of this? To enforce a preceding Rubric, and to remind the people of their duty to anſwer Amen, it is thought good to place the word *anſwer* before each Amen; and after ſuch a poſitive injunction, farther diſtinction by Italic is unneceſſary, as well as contrary to common uſage.

Upon this principle I conclude, that after abſolutions, Collects, &c., which are repeated by the miniſter only, Amen in Italic is equivalent to a Rubric, and implies, that the people are to anſwer Amen. But after Confeſſions, Creeds, &c., which, all the people, as well as the miniſter, are enjoined to repeat, there was no occaſion for diſtinguiſhing Amen. The people did not require to be particularly told that after they had repeated all the articles of the Creed, they were likewiſe to ſay Amen. Amen therefore ſtands in the ſame letter with the form preceding, becauſe no diſcrimination was neceſſary. This, to me at leaſt, appears an eaſy and natural ſolution.

The miniſter, I apprehend, is left at perfect liberty, either mentally, or vocally, to utter Amen; or to leave it entirely to the people, as he may be diſpoſed.

* Secretò, inclinatus, ἐν ἑαυτῷ, &c. See the ancient Liturgies.

Prayer,

Prayer, and the Creed, were, before the reformation, recited in England, at the beginning of the morning ſervice. But now the miniſter is directed to ſay the Lord's Prayer with an audible voice, and the people are required to repeat it with him The reaſon of this injunction appears to be, that the ignorant may learn it; and that all may hear it, in order that they may repeat it with the miniſter.

In thoſe parts of the ſervice where the Lord's Prayer was ſaid with an audible voice, in the Roman church, it was repeated by the prieſt alone, but in the Greek and Gallican churches by the prieſt, and all the people together *. The church of England now follows the cuſtom of the ancient Gallican church †, which adopted that of the Greek in preference to the Roman.

Till the laſt review, however, the Rubric ‡ ſimply directed "the miniſter to begin the Lord's "Prayer with a loud voice:" and it appears from the account given by Biſhop Sparrow, that it was, in ſome parts of the ſervice, repeated in the manner practiſed by the late Gallican church, and the modern Engliſh Roman catholics. He tells us that "in ſome places, eſpecially among thoſe eja-"culations," (that is, the verſicles after the

Apud Græcos ob omni populo dicitur: apud nos a ſolo ſacerdote. *Gregor. Mag.* lib. VII. Epiſt. 64.

† Mabillon, Lit. Gall. lib. 1. c. 5.

‡ I mean the Rubric here; the Rubric before the Lord's Prayer, after the Creed was different. See Note p. 66.

Creed) " which the prieſt and people make in " courſe, the people are to ſay the laſt words, " *but deliver us from evil, Amen*: That ſo, they " may not be interrupted from ſtill bearing a part " in ſo divine a ſervice*."

The obſervation made by Biſhop Sparrow, naturally leads to another remark, which is, that, in the offices of our church, the doxology was annexed to the Lord's Prayer, only at the laſt review. The doxology, I apprehend, the learned in general acknowledge to be no part of this prayer. It is not mentioned by the Latin fathers, and is rarely uſed in the offices of the Latin church. But as it is joined to the Lord's Prayer in our uſual copies of St. Matthew's Goſpel, was repeated in the Greek church immediately after the prayer, and is expounded by Chryſoſtom, and

* Downs' Ed. of Sparrow's Rationale, p. 18. In Edward's firſt book, the Rubric following the hymns at Morning Prayer, directs that *the Miniſter ſhall ſay the Creed and Lord's Prayer in Engliſh with a loud voice.* Neither of theſe are printed here, and the Rubric is immediately followed with the word *Anſwer*, " But deliver us from " evil, Amen." Though the rubrical direction, *anſwer*, was omitted in the ſubſequent books; and after the Creed, &c., *the miniſter, clerks, and people* were ordered to ſay the Lord's Prayer; yet, till the Review of 1661 the miniſter alone began it, and proceeded to the latter clauſe of the laſt petition, when the clerks and people anſwered, " but deliver us from evil, Amen."—In the Romiſh church, the prieſt ſpeaks the words *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*, whether the prayer is recited at Mattins, or chanted at maſs, in a peculiar tone, to apprize the people that it is the time for them to reply, *Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.*

others

others of the Greek fathers, the reviewers of 1661 thought proper occaſionally to add the doxology.

The Lord's Prayer here is to be ſaid by *all kneeling.** Kneeling in prayer is a poſture of humility, which was uſed by pious men under the law; by our Saviour, by his apoſtles, and by the firſt Chriſtians. Solomon, at the dedication of the temple kneeled down upon his knees before all the congregation of Iſrael. (2 Chron. vi. 13.) Daniel kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, (Dan. vi. 10.) Our bleſſed Lord kneeled down when he prayed earneſtly in his agony, (Luke xxii. 41.) In the ſame attitude Peter prayed, when he raiſed Dorcas from the dead, (Acts ix. 40.) And Paul, after his exhortation to the Elders of Miletus, and before his departure, kneeled down and prayed with them all, (Acts xx. 36.)

* In ſome churches, when the Lord's Prayer is read in the ſecond leſſon, it is cuſtomary for the whole congregation to riſe from their ſeats, and kneel. The practice is pious, and affecting: but its propriety may be queſtioned. To *repeat* the words of the Lord's Prayer with the miniſter on theſe occaſions, is certainly irregular, except we ſuppoſe that the directions given at the end of this Rubric, were meant to extend to the leſſons. But this is not probable; for it is the people's duty "to hear God's holy word," and no part of the leſſons is appointed to be repeated by them.

It has, by ſome, been thought that the people are not to repeat the Lord's Prayer with the miniſter in the Communion office. But the words "both here, and whereſoever elſe it is uſed in divine ſer-"vice," added to the Rubric at the laſt review, contain a plain general direction, which a thouſand repetitions would not have made more expreſs.

With the diſciples at Tyre, Paul and Luke kneeled down on the ſhore and prayed, (Acts xxi. 5.) Paul expreſſes prayer by the attitude that with propriety attends it, "I bow my knees unto the "Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt," (Eph. iii. 14.) and to mention but one inſtance more, Stephen, at his martyrdom "kneeled down and cried "with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this ſin to "their charge." (Acts vii. 60.) Kneeling is the moſt proper poſture for prayer, and in this attitude the early Chriſtians generally * offered up both their public and private ſupplications.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

The ſervice, which we have hitherto been performing, may be conſidered rather as a preparation for prayer, than prayer itſelf.—We now begin to pray in that perfect and ſpiritual form, delivered to us by Jeſus Chriſt, through whom alone either our prayers, or perſons, can be accepted by God.

* I ſay generally, for it has already been remarked, that on Sundays, and from Eaſter to Whitſuntide, in the public worſhip, they prayed ſtanding. Theſe days they looked upon as ſymbolical of the reſurrection, and thought that *ſtanding* in prayer was fitter than *kneeling* on ſuch joyous feſtivals. This practice mentioned by many of the early Fathers, is particularly enjoined by the Council of Nice. (Laſt Canon.) The penitent publican *ſtood* when he prayed in the Temple, ſaying, "God, be merciful to me a ſinner;" (Luke xviii. 13.) and our Saviour ſaid "when ye *ſtand*, praying, forgive." (Mark xi. 25.)

This form, compoſed, and preſcribed, by our bleſſed Lord himſelf, was on all occaſions uſed by the primitive church. In thoſe days, the novel and ſtrange objection, urged by ſome againſt the uſe of this prayer, that it is a form, was unknown. On the contrary, becauſe it was a form, enjoined by our Redeemer and Mediator, it was always accounted the moſt ſpiritual and prevalent prayer, that man could addreſs to God. To pray in the words of the Lord's Prayer, as the Chriſtian Fathers conceive, is, "to worſhip God in ſpirit "and in truth.*" In the devout uſe of this form, they conſidered themſelves, as "praying with the "underſtanding, and praying with the ſpirit "alſo.*"

Chryſoſtom obſerves, that "the Father well "knows the words, and meaning of his Son;" and "let the Father recogniſe in your prayers the "words of the Son," is the counſel given by Cyprian. This glorious martyr to the Chriſtian faith, eſteems the Lord's Prayer, as "one of the moſt "valuable leſſons taught in the Goſpel; and the "goodneſs and loving kindneſs of our Redeemer "in teaching us how to pray," he conſiders "as "a peculiar inſtance of mercy. He who made us "taught us how to pray, that whilſt we ſpeak "unto the Father in that prayer and addreſs, "which the Son taught us, we may the more "eaſily be heard." Cyprian adds, "ſince we

* Cyp. and Auguſt.

" have an advocate with the Father for our ſins, " we ſhould, whenever we pray for pardon, al- " ledge unto God the very words, which our ad- " vocate has taught us. We have his promiſe, " that whatever we ſhall aſk in his name, we ſhall " receive; and muſt we not more readily obtain " our deſires, when we not only uſe his *name* in " aſking, but in his very *words* preſent our re- " queſts unto God *? Our advocate in heaven has " taught us to ſay this prayer upon earth, that, " between his interceſſions, and our ſupplications, " the moſt perfect harmony may ſubſiſt."

And a more modern writer obſerves, that " ſhould men ſpeak with the tongues of angels, " yet words ſo pleaſing to the ears of God, as " thoſe which the Son of God himſelf has com- " poſed, it were not poſſible for man to frame †."

In whatever light, thoſe, who diſlike our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and affect to deſpiſe our Liturgy, may chooſe to view the Lord's Prayer, it is certain, that the primitive church did not look upon it, merely as a model, to which her prayers were to be conformed. The early chriſtians knew, that our Lord intended it for *uſe*, as well as for *imitation*. Hence it was called *Oratio legitima* ‡, the legitimate prayer, the eſtabliſhed

* Cyp. de Orat. Domin. cap. 11.

† Hooker, Ecc. Polity. Book v.

‡ It is ſo called by Tertullian, and Auſtin. The latter exhorts all to learn this legitimate prayer, which Chriſt has enjoined us to offer up to God and the Father, *Serm.* 126.

form

form of prayer, the prayer which Chriſt commanded his diſciples to uſe in the very words delivered by himſelf.

In obedience to the command of Chriſt *, the primitive church always made it a part of all her holy offices. At the adminiſtration of baptiſm, the celebration of the ſupper of the Lord, and in her daily morning and evening ſervices, as well as in private devotions, the Lord's prayer was always repeated.--Hence it was likewiſe called *Oratio quotidiana*, the Chriſtian's quotidian, or daily prayer †. And when in ſucceeding ages it was diſcovered, that ſome of the officiating clergy in Spain occaſionally omitted it in the daily ſervice, they were cenſured by a council, as "proud "contemners of the Lord's injunction," and it was enacted, that "every clergyman omitting it "either in private or public prayer ſhould be de-"graded from the dignity of his office‡." That it formed a part of the daily ſervice of the Gallic

* "When ye pray, ſay," *Our Father*, &c. (Luke,)—Non ſingulis privatam precem mandavit, ſed *oratione communi*, et concordi prece, pro omnibus juſſit orare. (Cyp. de Orat. Dom.) Cyprian here calls it *common prayer*. ——— Eccleſiæ oratio eſt. Vox eſt de magiſterio Domini veniens.—Ipſe dixit, ſic orate.—Diſcipulis dixit, ſic orate.—Apoſtolis dixit, et nobis—ſic orate. (Auguſt)

† Hunc panem dari nobis, quotidie poſtulamus (Cyp. de Orat. Dom.) Quia quotidiana oratio eſt, quotidie quoque ut detur, oratur. Con. Tol. IV.

‡ Quiſquis ergo ſacerdotum, Orationem Dominicam quotidie aut in publico, aut in privato officio præterierit, ordinis ſui honore privetur. Con. Tol. IV. Can. 9. A. D. 633.

church, appears from the acts of an ancient council, which forbids "any Layman to depart from "the place of public worſhip before the Lord's "Prayer is ended *."

The uſe of this prayer was thought by the ancients peculiarly efficacious to incline God to pardon ſins of infirmity, and inadvertency, into which the beſt men are liable perpetually to fall †, and in particular, offences committed through the want of fervour and devotion in other prayers. This doctrine the church of Rome afterwards perverted, by departing from the opinions of the Fathers reſpecting *venial* and *mortal* ſins; by enjoining the technical repetition of the Lord's Prayer in chaplets and roſaries, and by annexing indulgences to ſuch repetitions; all which abuſes our Reformers were careful to correct.

With this prayer, the ſupplications in the pub-

* Nullus laicorum prius diſcedat, quam dominica dicatur oratio. Con. Aurel. III. Can. 28.

† De quotidianis levibuſque peccatis, ſine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, quotidiana oratio fidelium ſatisfacit. (Auguſt. Enchi. c. 71.) And again, Niſi eſſent quædam (peccata) ſine quibus hæc vita non agitur, non quotidianam medelam poneret in oratione quam docuit, ut dicamus, dimitte nobis debita, &c. (Id. de Fid et Op.) He alſo ſtyles this Prayer "the daily baptiſm." We are abſolved once by baptiſm, but by this prayer daily. De Symb. Elſewhere, he calls it our daily purification, and, as it were, a daily baptiſm. The fourth council of Toledo, referred to above, enjoins that the Lord's Prayer ſhould be daily ſaid, becauſe it is a daily prayer; and as an additional reaſon obſerves, Delet hæc quotidiana oratio minima et quotidiana peccata.

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lic worſhip of the primitive church generally began *, and with it, the ſervice frequently ended †. To the practice of the primitive church our reformers unqueſtionably had an eye, when they originally placed the Lord's Prayer at the very beginning of the morning and evening ſervices.

Upon the review of the Common Prayer, which took place ſoon after its firſt publication, it was judged expedient, that the Sentences, Exhortation, Confeſſion, and Abſolution, ſhould be prefixed to the ſervice. On what grounds this alteration was made, we have, I apprehend, no authentic documents: recourſe has therefore been had to conjecture.

It has been preſumed, and with the appearance of good reaſon, that abruptly, and without any preceding preparation, to begin the ſervice with this divine prayer, was, upon more mature deliberation, regarded by the compilers of the Liturgy, as irreverent, and improper; and that on this account, the change was made. In aid of this opinion we may obſerve, that in every office of the church, the Lord's Prayer is uniformly pre-

* Præmiſsâ legitimâ, et ordinariâ oratione, qauſi fundamento, jus eſt ſuperſtruendi extrinſecus petitiones. Tertull. de Orat. c. 9.

† Aug. Ep. 59. and the words of the council of Orleans quoted in p. 72, Nullus, &c. And the council of Girone, c. x.

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faced, either with the *Kyrie eleiſon**, (the leſſer † Litany as it is called) or at leaſt with a ſolemn addreſs ‡; as it is here preceded by the Exhortation, Confeſſion, and Abſolution.

To the truth of this general remark, the office of the holy Communion alone affords an exception. This office indeed begins with the Lord's Prayer; but we are to obſerve, that the Communion, as it is now generally adminiſtered in our church, can hardly be conſidered, as an entire ſervice of itſelf. Debarring a few peculiar exceptions, the Communion office is always preceded by the morning prayer, and commonly by the Litany likewiſe; and, of courſe, before the repetition of the Lord's Prayer in this part of the ſervice, no particular preparation is neceſſary.

Whatever may have been the reaſon for prefixing the Confeſſion, Abſolution, &c., to the Lord's Prayer, the propriety of the addition cannot be diſputed. Till we had confeſſed, and repented

* See the LORD'S PRAYER after the Creed; in the form of the ſolemnization of matrimony: the order for the viſitation of the ſick, and the burial of the dead; in the Thankſgiving after child-birth, the Commination office, and "the prayers in reſpect of a ſtorm."

† *Leſſer* Litany, and *leſſer* Doxology, are names by which the ſupplication, *Lord have mercy upon us*, &c., and the hymn beginning, *Glory be to the Father*, &c., are commonly diſtinguiſhed. The uſe of *leſſer* inſtead of *leſs*, in theſe inſtances, "has all the authority, which "a mode, originally erroneous, can derive from cuſtom."

‡ As in the three offices appointed for the miniſtration of baptiſm; and the order of confirmation.

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of our ſins, we could not, in the endearing ſenſe, in which we now uſe the words, call God our Father.* And before we had his promiſe of pardon and Abſolution, we could not call him ſo with comfort.

When the church prefixed the preceding preparatory parts to the daily ſervice, and directed the Lord's Prayer to be ſaid after them, ſhe certainly did not mean this appointment to be underſtood, as a diſparagement of the Lord's Prayer. It is on the contrary, a mark of her extreme reverence for this divine form. Though the Lord's Prayer does not occupy the foremoſt place, in point of order, yet it ſtands in the beginning of our ſervice; and is, in the church of England, what it was, in the primitive church of Chriſt, the foundation and baſis, on which the ſuperſtructure of her other prayers is built†. The conſtant uſe our church makes of it, rehearſing it a ſecond time, in her morning and evening prayer, and repeating it in every one of her offices, is a ſufficient proof of the ſenſe ſhe entertains of its excellence and efficacy.

* God is the *Father* of the univerſe; all Nature owes its being, and ſupport to him. He bears a nearer degree of the ſame relation to all creatures endowed with intelligence, and capable of virtue. Of man in particular it is ſaid that he was created *in the image of God*, and he is ſtyled his *Son*. A good man may with ſtill better hopes make uſe of this endearing appellation; and a good Chriſtian above all. He is *an heir of God, and joint heir with Chriſt.*

† See Tertull. quoted p. 73.

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The compilers of our Liturgy were not ignorant, that the offering up of this prevailing ſupplication, with true devotion, and zeal of heart, affords to God that glory, to the weakeſt man that aid, and to the moſt perfect that ſolid comfort which is unſpeakable.* Indeed of all applications to the Supreme Being, that are extant, this is incomparably the moſt rational, the moſt devout, and the beſt. Whilſt its comprehenſive conciſeneſs, has in all ages been the admiration of the learned, its beautiful ſimplicity is not leſs remarkable. It is ſo ſhort, that all may learn it; and ſo plain that all may underſtand it. At the ſame time it is ſo full†, that it includes all our wants, and ſo explicit, that, whilſt it directs us, how to pray, and for what to pray, it teaches us, what we ſhould be‡. It is in reality a complete rule of duty, as well as an admirable form of prayer. The Fathers call it "the Epitome of the "Goſpel §," and what his hearers ſaid of the preaching, we may, with equal truth, apply to

* Hooker on the Lord's Prayer.

† In veritate ſpiritualiter copioſa, ut nihil omnino prætermiſſum ſit, quod in precibus et orationibus noſtris cœleſtis doctrinæ *compendio* comprehendatur. (Cyprian.) Quantum ſubſtringitur verbis, tantum diffunditur ſenſibus. Tertull.

‡ Unuſquiſque noſtrum ſic diſcat orare, et de orationis lege, qualis eſſe debeat, noſcere. Cyprian.

§ Breviarium evangelii. Tert. See alſo Cyprian, quoted above, In veritate, &c.

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the prayer of our Lord, "never man ſpake like "this man."

Origin of the Lord's Prayer.

Among the Jewiſh teachers, it was a common practice to deliver to their ſcholars a certain form of prayer to be uſed with the eſtabliſhed ordinary devotions. And to this cuſtom the diſciples of our Lord are ſuppoſed to refer; when they deſired him to teach them to pray. In compliance with their requeſt he dictated this form for their uſe, and the uſe of all, who ſhould embrace Chriſtianity. It is the obſervation of Grotius, that ſo averſe was our Lord to unneceſſary innovation, and the affectation of novelty, that he, "who had not the "ſpirit by meaſure," (John III. 34.) and "in "whom were all the hidden treaſures of wiſdom, "and knowledge," (Col. II. 3.) ſelected the words and phraſes of this prayer, principally from forms, at that time well known among the Jews*. —One immediate advantage of this conduct of our Saviour was, that the diſciples, and Jewiſh converts, would more readily learn that prayer, and embrace thoſe precepts, to the terms of which,

* Docent nos ea, quæ ex Hebræorum libris ab aliis ſunt citata, non tam formulam hanc a Chriſto ſuis verbis conceptam, quàm in eam congeſtum quicquid in Hebræorum precibus erat laudabile, Sicut et in admonitionibus paſſim utitur notis eo ſeculo proverbiis. *Tam longè abfuit ipſe Dominus eccleſiæ ab omni affectatione non neceſſariæ novitatis.* Annotat. in Matt. VI. 9. See alſo *Capellus.*

before

before their converſion, they had been accuſtomed.

The Lord's Prayer conſiſts, as it is uſually obſerved, of ſix petitions, yet of the ſix, the three firſt can hardly be called by that name. They are more properly, acts, or expreſſions of adoration, obedience, and ſubmiſſion; by which, we render honor to the Divine Being, and give up ourſelves, along with the whole creation, to his government and diſpoſal, before we preſume to offer any requeſts in our own favour, even for the ſupply of our moſt neceſſary wants, or the forgiveneſs of our ſins.

There is a propriety in this. The inhabitants of heaven, when they worſhip him that liveth for ever, caſt their crowns before his throne, ſaying, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and "honor, and power, for thou haſt created all "things, and for thy pleaſure they are, and were "created."--"They reſt not day and night, ſaying, "holy, holy, Lord God Almighty." And although, in this preſent ſtate of infirmity and want, it is our duty to "let our requeſts be made known "unto God," yet in imitation of the ſaints above, it is alſo our duty to join thankſgivings to our ſupplications. It will argue a wrong diſpoſition in us, if we never draw near to the throne of grace, but in our diſtreſs, and having received ſo many benefits, remember nothing in the divine preſence, but our neceſſities alone.

PARAPHRASE

ON THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Commenſurate to the excellence of this prayer, has been the number of its commentators, and expoſitors, both in ancient and modern times.

The following animated Paraphraſe, well ſuited to my purpoſe, will not; I preſume, be unacceptable. A few ſlight variations excepted, it is the production of a writer*, to whom I am alſo indebted for ſome of the preceding remarks.

Prediſpoſed, and prepared to pray, by a ſincere confeſſion of our ſins, and the hope of abſolution; directed by the piety of the church; and, as we truſt, prompted by the Holy Spirit, we addreſs the Almighty Everlaſting God, in the words of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſay,

" Abba, Father; thou author, preſerver, ſupport, of my being, life, hopes and happineſs, who haſt brought me into this world, thy work; and redeemed me by thy only begotten Son, through thy Holy Spirit, to an eternal inheritance in heaven; I acknowledge thy authority, and thy affection, with reverence and gratitude. I own thy

* Dr. Ogden. Vol. I. Serm. x.

paternal

paternal power and tenderneſs, and approach thy preſence with the ſentiments of a ſon, with fear, and love, and joy. Thus emboldened, I raiſe my thoughts from earth to heaven; I look up to that celeſtial ſeat, where thou haſt dwelt from eternity, enthroned in majeſty, above all height, and cloathed with light, which no eye can bear to behold. But though thy glory is unſearchable, and I cannot ſee thee as thou art; yet ſo much, at leaſt, I can diſcern of thee by thy image, expreſſed in thy word, and reflected from thy works; that thou art great, and juſt, and holy. Thou wilt be ſanctified, and holy wilt thou be holden by all who approach to ſerve thee. (Lev. x. 3.) Thou requireſt truth in the hearts of thy worſhipers; and that the lips which preſume to utter thy hallowed name, be free both from impurity and fraud. May the number of ſuch as preſent this incenſe to thy name, and a pure offering, be multiplied without meaſure. (Mal. i. 11.) And oh! that my voice alſo might be heard among thoſe, who thus adore thee! But, alas! we have been enemies to our God; rebels to thy rightful ſway; we have followed the dictates of pride and paſſion; have been ſeduced by the tempter, led aſtray by our own corrupt mind, or by the wiles of others; and thy world by our weakneſs and perverſeneſs hath been ſubjected to the power of the evil one. (Eph. ii. 2.) How long, O Lord, moſt holy and true? The time will ſurely come, (let it come ſpeedily) when thy juſt

juſt dominion ſhall be univerſally acknowledged in every region, by every heart; when Thou ſhalt reign unrivalled in all thy works; and the uſurped authority of that apoſtate ſpirit, which divides and deforms thy kingdom, be utterly deſtroyed for ever. In heaven thy will is the inviolable law: myriads of miniſters encircle thy throne, who ceaſe not day and night to celebrate and to ſerve Thee, with uninterrupted praiſes, and unerring obedience. Oh! that ſuch fidelity were on earth! that the ſons of men did even now reſemble that celeſtial ſociety, to which they hope hereafter to be united, were animated with the like holy ardent zeal, and could give themſelves to God with the ſame entire devotion! We are blind and vain, but Thou art wiſe and good. Wiſe therefore in thy wiſdom, ſecure under thy care, great and happy in humility and ſubjection, we have no wiſhes but in Thee. Our whole deſire and glory is to be, to do, to ſuffer whatever Thou art pleaſed to appoint.——During our paſſage through this periſhable ſtate, we truſt, and know, that Thou, who gaveſt us life, wilt give us alſo all ſuch things as are neceſſary for its ſupport: and we aſk no more. But, oh! leave us not deſtitute of that *bread which cometh down from heaven.* (John vi. 32, 33.) Let our ſouls be nouriſhed by thy word and ordinances, that we may grow in grace, and be made partakers of a life which will never end. Wealth, fame, and power we relinquiſh as the portion of thoſe, to whom thou haſt

allotted them: let our riches be repoſited in heaven: the object of our ambition is the light of thy countenance, even the approbation and applauſe of God. What have I ſaid? Can ſo frail a creature as I am hope to be juſtified, when he is judged? dare I truſt to that fiery trial, which will conſume the wicked? will my life, or will my heart endure the inſpection, which is too pure to behold iniquity without abhorrence? But O my Lord, there is mercy with Thee. Let me appeal from the ſeverity of thy juſtice, and lay hold on this anchor of my hopes. Pity, where Thou canſt not approve; and pardon that which muſt offend thee. Then ſhall my life bear teſtimony to my thankful heart; and that gratitude which extends not to Thee, ſhall overflow on men. How juſt is it, that I ſhould ſhew to them that mercy, which I aſk, and want! I bleſs Thee for thy goodneſs, and I feel the *conſtraint* of love; (2 Cor. v. 14.) and do now from the bottom of my heart, naked before that preſence, from which no thought is hid, moſt freely forgive all thoſe, who by word or deed, knowingly or ignorantly, have offended, or have injured me. I relinquiſh all my claims to vengeance. I bury from this moment, for ever in oblivion, all offences, and the very remembrance of reſentment: And I moſt ardently deſire, that the ſenſe of thy divine and boundleſs love may kindle in my breaſt a flame of thankfulneſs to Thee, which no time can quench; and an affection to men, which no provocation, no wrongs,

can conquer. May this principle of love live in my heart, and direct and animate my actions! I am willing it ſhould be called forth, and cultivated, by exerciſe and diſcipline: and whatever trials, or ſufferings thy wiſdom ſees fit for this happy end, I cheerfully embrace. Shew me no hurtful indulgence. I decline no danger for thy glory, for the good of men, for the improvement of my virtue. Yet remember I am but duſt. Be Thou near me in thoſe perilous moments. Let not the ſtorms of trouble, trial, and adverſity, overwhelm me. Strengthen my failing faith. When I ſink, ſtretch forth thy hand. I rely on thy providence and grace; that Thou wilt deliver me from the danger, or ſupport me under it. Save me from ſin, from the great enemy of ſouls, aud from eternal miſery.

Theſe, Lord, are the requeſts, which my heart pours out unto Thee. But Thou ſeeſt the wants, which it doth not know; Thou heareſt the deſires, it cannot utter. Give us what is good, though we aſk it not: and mercifully deny, when we pray for evil.

My ſoul falls down with the loweſt reverence before thy throne, adding its little homage to the profound adorations and triumphant Halleluiahs of the whole hoſt of heaven, and all thy ſaints on earth: power and honour, dominion and glory, infinite and everlaſting, be to Thee, my Lord, my Father, and my God.

Versicles between the Lord's Prayer, and Gloria Patri.

The incomparable prayer, which Jeſus himſelf compoſed, and recommended to the uſe of his diſciples in their addreſſes to God, is followed by four ſhort devout Verſicles; which, being recited by the miniſter and people alternately, are on that account ſometimes called reſponſes. In this mode of alternate recitation, the primitive church of Chriſt appears to have conformed to the model of the ancient Jewiſh church; in both of which, it was cuſtomary to recite hymns and prayers in alternate ſentences, one part of the congregation reſponding to the other. This difference, however, as ſome have thought, is obſervable. Among the Jews, the ſervice was performed by the prieſts and Levites only * But we have a more extenſive privilege, and every Chriſtian is himſelf ſo far a prieſt, as to be admitted to join in this ſpiritual ſacrifice.

The primitive uſage of occaſionally praying by reſponſes, rejected by ſome eſtabliſhments, (which ſo far at leaſt have deprived the people of their ancient right of bearing a part in the ſervice,) is wiſely retained by the church of England. When we meet "in the habitation of God's holineſs" (2 Cron. xxx. 27.) whatever we aſk with unity of

* See Ezra iii. 11, and the Commentators.

mind

mind and *voice*, ſhall be done for us of our father, which is in heaven. (Mat. XVIII. 19. Rom XV. 6.) Again, by this grateful variety in our forms, the attention, too apt to wander during the performance of ſacred offices, is engaged, and our devotion is enlivened and invigorated.

Theſe four Verſicles, which we find in the moſt ancient Liturgies *, are ſelected from that excellent repoſitory of devotion, the Book of Pſalms. The introduction of them here, after the Confeſſion, Abſolution, and Lord's Prayer; and before Gloria Patri and the Pſalms, appointed for the day, is a moſt wiſe regulation of the Church. They are intended to connect the preceding penitential part of the ſervice, to which they properly belong, with the Euchariſtic part which immediately follows.

The two former intimate that the mouth cloſed by ſin, can be opened only by pardon. In token of which he who came conferring pardon, cauſed the tongue of the dumb to ſpeak, and to ſing praiſes to God. They may be thus more fully expreſſed by a paraphraſe: O God, from whom the gift of utterance proceeds, aſſiſt us in our devotions. We are unworthy, and of ourſelves unable, to offer unto thee any ſacrifice; but thou in thy holy word, haſt ordained, that even babes and ſucklings ſhould perfect thy praiſe. Open

* Lit. Jacob. &c.

therefore, O Lord, our lips, and by the inſpiration of thy holy Spirit, ſo diſpoſe our hearts, that with our mouths we may worthily laud, and magnify thy holy name, through Chriſt our Lord.

The two following ejaculations appear to be paraphraſes of that remarkable ſupplication, *Hoſhea nu*, frequently repeated in the Book of Pſalms, (Ps. cxviii. 25.) and varying, as it has been ſuppoſed, but little, from the acclamation *Hoſannah*, uſed by the Jews in the days of our Saviour. Theſe two Verſicles contain, earneſt entreaties for God's grace, without which we can perform no acceptable ſervice. Their import here is, We are wearied with the burden of our ſins. We have deſtroyed ourſelves, but in thee is our help. Make haſte, O Lord, to ſave us. With ſpeed further us in all things neceſſary to our ſalvation. Quicken and animate our devotions, and raiſe our hearts unto thee, while with joyful lips we ſpeak thy praiſes, and glorify on earth thy Holy Name *.

GLORIA

* In the Breviaries theſe Verſicles follow the Lord's Prayer at Mattins. The prayer, as has been obſerved before, is there ſaid privately, and the Verſicles are the firſt part of the ſervice pronounced with an audible voice. In the royal primers likewiſe, theſe Verſicles followed the Lord's Prayer, and ſtood thus:

O Lord, open thou my lips,
Anſ. And then ſhall my mouth ſhew forth thy praiſe.
O God, bend thyſelf to my help,
Anſ. Lord, haſte thee to help me.

In

GLORIA PATRI.

This excellent Hymn is called *Gloria Patri*, from the two initial words in Latin; in which language, they ſignify "Glory be to the Father," &c. It is ſometimes called the leſſer Doxology, in contradiſtinction to the angelical Hymn, or great Doxology, which begins "Glory be to God on high," and is by our church appointed to be ſaid in the office of the holy Communion.

The Doxology, Gloria Patri, is not merely an admirable hymn, containing a particular adoration of each of the perſons, in the holy, bleſſed, and glorious trinity. But it is likewiſe a compendious Catholic Creed: for the ſubſtance of a Chriſtian's faith is, to believe in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

From the times of the Apoſtles, at leaſt from times very near thoſe, in which the Apoſtles lived, to the preſent day, it has been the cuſtom of all churches to incorporate words of Glory with prayer; and to conclude hymns, pſalms, ſermons, and homilies, with aſcribing Glory to the Father,

In our firſt Engliſh Liturgy, the Verſicles were,

O Lord, open thou my lips,
Anſ. And my mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe.
O God, make ſpeed to ſave me,
Anſ. O Lord, make haſte to help me.

the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. But of all the Doxologies, that have conſtituted a part of the public ſervice, *Gloria Patri* is the moſt common, the moſt celebrated, and the moſt ancient.

Origin and Antiquity of Gloria Patri.

If the reaſoning of Baſil be concluſive, or his opinion may be relied upon, this hymn, *Gloria Patri*, derives its origin from the Apoſtles. Glorifying the Father and the Son, together with the Holy Ghoſt, was, in Baſil's judgment, practiſed and preſcribed by the Apoſtles themſelves. This, he believes, was one of the ordinances, or traditions, which St. Paul praiſes the Corinthians for keeping, as they had been delivered to them by him; (1. Cor. 11. 2.) and exhorts the Theſſalonians to hold, as they had been taught, whether by word, or by epiſtle. (2 Theſſ. 11. 15.) On this principle, Baſil accounts for the practice of aſcribing glory to the Trinity, which in his day was univerſal.†

* Δοξολογια dicitur omnis glorificatio, quæ tam in fine pſalmorum, quam ad calcem orationum, & homiliarum, addi ſolebant a chriſtianis. *Valeſius* annot. on *Theod.* B. 11. c. 24. *Baſil De Spir. Sanct.*

† Among unwritten, but ancient uſages, Baſil, in this chapter, enumerates ſigning with the ſign of the croſs;—turning towards the Eaſt in prayer;—the form of conſecrating the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper;—and of ſanctifying the water in baptiſm; the renouncing of the devil, &c.—De Spir. Sanct. c. 29.

In

In different paſſages of his works, we find him thus arguing: "As we have received, ſo muſt "we be baptized; as we are baptized, ſo muſt "we believe; and as we have believed, ſo muſt "we glorify the Father, the Son, and the Holy "Ghoſt.*

Now the Apoſtles received commandment "to "teach, and to baptize, in the name of the Fa- "ther, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt."† Preparatory to baptiſm, they, (as their ſucceſſors certainly did) moſt probably required of ſuch as were to be admitted into the church, a ſolemn confeſſion of that faith, into which they were to be baptized. This confeſſion of faith St. Baſil ſtyles "the beginning, the original, and mother "as it were of the Doxology.‡"

If Baſil has not proved that the apoſtles themſelves uſed this Doxology, and recommended it to others by their precepts, he has ſhewn it to be highly probable, that they did both. This ſeems certain, that the form of the Doxology was derived from the form of the confeſſion of faith, (from the Symbolum or Creed, as it was afterwards called;) as this laſt evidently was from the form uſed in the adminiſtration of baptiſm.

Baſil in the paſſage cited above, refers the Doxo-

* Ep. LXXVIII. & de Spir. Sanct.

† Matt. XXVIII. 19.

‡ Την δε ομολογιαν της πιστεως, ωσπερ αρχην και μητερα της δοξολογιας εποιησαμεθα, &c.——*De Spirit. Sanct.* c. XXVII.

logy

logy to its true origin. The doctrine it contains, is unqueſtionably confirmed by numerous other paſſages of Scripture, but here it reſts upon its own proper baſis. Men may caſt away all ancient orthodox creeds. They may deny even the pre-exiſtence of the Son, and expunge this Doxology from their Liturgies*. But before they can overthrow the grand point of doctrine, which this Doxology ſets forth, they muſt deſtroy the authority upon which it ſtands. They muſt invalidate the form of baptiſm preſcribed by our Saviour: and this is a rock, the rock of eternal ages, againſt which neither the powers of infidelity, nor the gates of hell, will finally prevail.

Our own Hooker, who has adopted Baſil's arguments, ſays, "Baptizing, we uſe the name of "the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy "Ghoſt. Confeſſing the Chriſtian faith, we de- "clare our belief in the Father, and in the Son, "and in the Holy Ghoſt. Aſcribing glory to

* Againſt the old Arians, Fœbadius argued, "if your poſition "be true, you daily blaſpheme God." To evade the force of the argument, they adopted that form of the Doxology, which ſiniſter conſtruction only made favourable to their cauſe. In juſtice to the Socinians, we muſt declare, that their practice is not repugnant to their tenets, Diſbelieving thoſe articles, which the Catholic church has ever held as the grand fundamentals of Chriſtianity, they have, conſiſtently enough with ſuch principles, diſcharged from their Liturgy this Doxology, the Apoſtles' Creed, and all Confeſſions of Chriſtian Faith. See Fourth Edition, and Advertiſement prefixed.

God,

" God, we give it to the Father, to the Son, and " to the Holy Ghoſt." It is, continues Hooker, quoting the words of Baſil, " the token, evidence, " or demonſtration of a true underſtanding, or " ſound belief* for matter of doctrine concern- " ing the Trinity, when in adminiſtering baptiſm, " making confeſſion, and giving glory, there is a " conjunction of all three, and no one is ſevered " from the other."

Proofs of the Antiquity and early Use of Gloria Patri.

The earlieſt inſtance that we meet with of the uſe of this hymn, is found in the circular epiſtle of the church of Smyrna, concerning the martyrdom of their beloved Biſhop Polycarp, from whence we learn that a Doxology, nearly reſembling *Gloria Patri*, were the laſt words he uttered. Polycarp was converſant with the apoſtles, and was conſecrated Biſhop of Smyrna†, by St. John the Evangeliſt. To him, among others, St. John is ſaid to have addreſſed the Revelation, in which Polycarp is entitled " the Angel of the church " of Smyrna."‡—When this truly apoſtolic man fell a victim to cruel ſuperſtition, and popular

* Αποδειξιν του ορθου φρονηματος, and elſewhere, φανερωσιν του σωτηριου δογματος——

† Tert. de Præſcript. c. xxxii. and Iren. lib. iii.

‡ Chap. ii. ver. 8. 12.

fury,

fury, bound* to the ſtake, with eyes uplifted to heaven he made a ſhort fervent prayer to God, which is concluded with a Doxology, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.

The prayer of Polycarp is remarkable on more accounts than one. We have heard the melancholy occaſion on which it was uttered. It is the earlieſt complete, regular prayer, which is recorded in the uninſpired annals of the church; and it ſhews the opinion entertained of the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, by the contemporary, the diſciple and the friend of St. John. Theſe reaſons may perhaps juſtify the inſertion of it here at length.

" O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy " beloved and bleſſed Son, Jeſus Chriſt, by whom " we have received the knowledge of thee, the " God of angels and of powers, and of every crea- " ture, and eſpecially of the whole generation of " the righteous, who live in thy preſence, I bleſs " thee that thou haſt vouchſafed to bring me to " this day and to this hour, that I may receive " a portion among thy martyrs, by drinking of " the cup of thy Chriſt, for the reſurrection to " eternal life, both of the ſoul and body, in the " incorruption of the Holy Ghoſt: into the num-

* In this deed of cruelty, the *executioners* exhibited an act of tender mercy. Such was their reverence for the character, and their opinion of the firmneſs of the venerable old man, that, contrary to the common practice, they tied him to the ſtake with cords.—*His* hands and feet were not pierced with nails.

" ber

"ber of whom I beſeech thee that I may this day "be admitted in thy ſight, a precious and ac- "ceptable ſacrifice, as thou haſt prepared, fore- "ſhewn, and now finally accompliſhed, who art "the true and never-failing God. For this, and "for all other benefits*, I praiſe thee, I bleſs thee, "I glorify thee, through the eternal, and heavenly "Jeſus Chriſt, thy beloved Son, with whom, to "thee and the Holy Ghoſt, be glory both now "and for ever. Amen."

The concluding words of Polycarp fortify the opinion of Baſil, and amount to little leſs than a proof, that the Doxology is of apoſtolic origin. Of Polycarp, his diſciple Irenæus teſtifies, that he taught and delivered to the church what he had received from the Apoſtles. Polycarp in his addreſſes to the people, often ſpoke of his familiar intercourſe with "the diſciple whom Jeſus "loved," and appears to have taken a peculiar pleaſure in relating the ſayings, and the things he had heard, from them who had ſeen the Lord†. Polycarp then, who on all occaſions adopted and delivered the opinons and precepts of the Apoſtles, may, in this inſtance, be ſuppoſed to have imitated their practice.

Towards the cloſe of the ſecond century lived

* Παντων I tranſlate all good things, or benefits. Cyprian, quoting Matt. VII. 12, renders παντα all good things.

† Iren. adv. Hæres. lib. III. c. 3.——Euſeb. Ecc. Hiſt. lib. v. c. 20.

Clement

Clement of Alexandria, the moſt illuſtrious writer of the age, and the moſt juſtly renowned for his various erudition, and his perfect acquaintance with the ancient ſages. The third book of his *Pedagogue* he concludes with a Doxology to the bleſſed Trinity, the terms of which are peculiarly remarkable: "To the only Father, and the Son; "to the Son, and the Father, to the Son our In- "ſtructor and Maſter *, with the Holy Ghoſt; "one in all reſpects, &c. &c, be glory, now and "ever. Amen.

Of Baſil's mode of reaſoning on this ſubject, we have already taken a curſory view, and we have heard his opinion, that the Doxology derives its origin from the Apoſtles. Let us now conſider a part of the *evidence* of its antiquity, which the writings of Baſil will abundantly ſupply.

We have his teſtimony that "it ſeemed good "to their fore-fathers" of the church of Neo Cæſarea, of which he was conſecrated Biſhop, about the year 370, "not to receive the gift of "the evening light in ſilence, but immediately "upon its appearance to give thanks." Who was the author of the words of the thankſgiving

* Theſe words allude to the *title* of the Treatiſe, which is a diſcourſe on Chriſtian Morality. In the firſt book he proves that the WORD *incarnate* is our beſt guide and inſtructor, and in the laſt ſection of the third, he exhorts men to obey the precepts of this heavenly inſtructor, to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, he then addreſſes the Doxology.

uſed

uſed at Candle-tiding, according to our old Engliſh term, or the putting up of lights, he declares himſelf unable to inform us. Of theſe points he is certain; that "the Thankſgiving was an ancient form, the voice of antiquity;" and that "no one was ever accuſed of impiety for ſaying, "We laud and praiſe the Father, the Son, and "the holy Spirit of God*."

The Euchariſtic hymn, to which Baſil refers, appears to be the very hymn, which is annexed to the Alexandrine copy of the ſeptuagint †, and which the Greek church daily recites in her evening ſervice, juſt upon ſunſet ‡. The learned author of the account of the Greek church thinks the hymn ſo ancient, and ſo remarkable, that he quotes it at length, though, as he obſerves, it was not his buſineſs to tranſcribe the Greek offices. It is called the Evening Hymn, and runs, "O Jeſus Chriſt, joyful light of holy glory, of "the Father immortal, heavenly, holy, bleſſed, "being come to the ſetting of the ſun, beholding "the evening light, we laud and praiſe the Father,

* Αινουμεν πατερα, και υιον, και αγιον πνευμα θεου. This form he calls αρχαιαν φωνην. *De Sanct. Spir.* c. XXIX.

† Now lodged in the Britiſh Muſeum.

‡ Uſher, and Cave (Hiſt. lit. Diſſert. ſec. article εσπερινος) have remarked that the (Pagan) Greeks had a ſimilar practice. *Varro* teſtifies that when lights were brought in, they ſung a religious hymn, beginning φως αγαθον.—To this the Chriſtians oppoſed their φως Ιλαρον, in honour of our Lord, whom the Apoſtle deſcribes as "the *Brightneſs* or *Effulgence* of the *Glory* of the Father," απαυγασμα της δοξης. Heb. 1, 3.

"the

" the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who is God. " Thou art worthy to have, at all times, thy " praiſes celebrated with holy voices, Son of " God, giver of life, Therefore the world glo- " rifies thee *."

Baſil farther obſerves, that if his contemporaries knew the hymn of Athenogenes, the martyr, which, when he was proceeding to the conſummation by fire, he left to his friends, as a keepſake, as his laſt bequeſt, then they knew the opinion which martyrs entertained of the Holy Ghoſt, viz., that he is God, and with the Father, and the Son together, muſt be worſhipped and glorified.

Contemporary with Clement, mentioned before, was Dionyſius of Alexandria, one of the moſt learned, and illuſtrious biſhops of his age. On account of his conſummate wiſdom and prudence, and his moſt amiable ſpirit of moderation and candor, he is ſurnamed by the ancients Dionyſius the Great. He concludes an epiſtle to his nameſake† with a Doxology, which he avers to be " a form

* This Hymn occurs alſo in ſome ancient Greek copies of the Pſalter. It is ſometimes called υμνος εσπερινος, the evening hymn. Sometimes υμνος του λυχνικου, or υμνος επιλυχνιος, the hymn uſed at Candle tiding, or the time of lighting candles. Baſil ſays πνευμα Θεου: the Alexandrine copy reads πνευμα Θεον. From the account Baſil gives of it, Dr. Smith thinks the hymn muſt be referred to the *firſt* ages of Chriſtianity.—See his account of the Greek Church.

† I follow *Baſil*, who employs this term to denote, as I ſuppoſe, *Dionyſius* of Rome, to whom the other wrote ſeveral letters, and preſented

"a form, and canon, or rule, of giving thanks "and praiſe to God, received from the fathers "who lived before their times, which in common "with them he himſelf uſed, and does not now "decline to write.--To God, both the Father "and the Son, *with* the Holy Ghoſt, be glory "and dominion for ever and ever, Amen."— And here it is the remark of Baſil, that Dionyſius would not have laid ſuch ſtreſs upon this point, calling it "a form and canon of antiquity," if he had ſaid (ΕΝ πνευμαϑι), *in* the Holy Spirit. For the uſe of this expreſſion was frequent and common: but it was the other (ΣΥΝ πνευμαϑι,) *with* the Holy Spirit, which required an apology, the prepoſition ΣΥΝ, as applied to the Holy Spirit, being at that time not ſo generally uſed *.

BASIL proves from Clement of Rome, who

preſented ſome of his books. He confuted and ſuppreſſed in his dioceſe, the errors of *Sabellius*, and defended the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity againſt the Arians.

* Baſil, de Sanct. Sp. c. xxix. From this ſingle proof alone, it appears, that Baſil's own uſe of συν, (equivalent to ΚΑΙ, and the more *orthodox*, though leſs common form) and not of ΕΝ, was objected to as an innovation. Hooker (B. v. c. 142.) and Cardinal Bona, (Rer. Lit.) are of a contrary opinion; to which, however, after reading Baſil's Treatiſe repeatedly with an eye to this point, I am not prepared to ſubſcribe.——*(Firſt Edit.)* After more deliberate inveſtigation I ſtill think that Hooker, Bona, and Bingham (B. xiv.) all miſtake, though in different ways, the ſcope of Baſil's argument, relative to συν, and εν; and they certainly miſrepreſent his own plain ſtatement of the occaſion on which the Treatiſe was compoſed.

lived in the time of the apoſtles, from Irenæus, the Diſciple of Polycarp, from Gregory Thaumaturgus, his predeceſſor in the See of Neo-cæſarea, on whom he pronounces a warm eulogium, from Origen, who, he hints, was not, in all things relating to the Spirit, perfectly orthodox, and from many others of the moſt ſhining luminaries of the church, that in their prayers, and writings, they addreſſed Doxologies, to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt. In ſhort, he ſays, that the Doxology was, in his time, among the Chriſtians of the Eaſt, a mark which diſtinguiſhed the orthodox from others; and that the whole weſtern world, from Illyricum to Neo-cæſarea, agreed in aſcribing glory to each of the perſons of the holy and bleſſed Trinity, in the very form, which he was cenſured by his adverſaries for employing.

From the numerous ſpecimens of doxologies that might be ſelected from the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, I ſhall produce only the following, with which the evidence of the antiquity, and early uſe of doxologies ſhall be cloſed. It is taken out of the eighth book, and occurs at the end of the oblation prayer: "To thee belongs all glory and "worſhip, and thankſgiving and honor, and "adoration, the Father, the Son, and the Holy "Ghoſt, now and for ever, throughout all ages, "world without end, Amen."

Though the *Apoſtolic Conſtitutions* be neither an inſpired writing, nor the genuine production of *Clement* of *Rome*, it contains a very valuable collection

lection of the Rituals, and Liturgies of the church, in the time in which it was compiled; and, as judicious divines have thought, is not infected with thoſe pernicious principles of Arianiſm, which ſome would fain faſten upon it; who, by impoſing a ſiniſter conſtruction, have attempted to pervert the words of this author, as well as thoſe of many of the Ante-Nicene writers, from their proper meaning to an heretical ſenſe. For if the Doxologies in the conſtitutions, are not plain inſtances of the worſhip and glorification of the Holy Ghoſt, together with the Father, and the Son, it is hardly poſſible to find words to expreſs theſe things. This work, particularly the eighth book, abounds with Doxologies, commonly reſembling that which we have ſeen was uſed by Dionyſius, and others; and this is the very form, in vindication of which, principally againſt the cavils of the Arians, Baſil wrote his elaborate Treatiſe; the form which, as we obſerved before, he ſays he himſelf uſed, and which he commends, as expreſſing the true glorification of the Holy, Bleſſed, and Undivided Trinity.

This Doxology not always expressed in the same identical Form of Words.

From the inſtances already enumerated, and it were an eaſy taſk to multiply the number to a degree incredible by thoſe who are totally unac-

quainted with the writers of the ancient church, it is evident that the early Chriſtians did not always expreſs their Doxologies in preciſely the ſame form of words: a precaution which the growth of hereſy made it afterwards neceſſary for the church to take.

They aſcribed glory, 1. To the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt: 2. *Through* the Son, to the Father, *in* the Holy Ghoſt. 3. To the Father, *through* the Son, *with* the Holy Ghoſt. 4. To the Father, *with* the Son, and *with* the Holy Ghoſt. 5. Sometimes only to the Father, omitting the expreſs mention of the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, though not meaning to exclude them. And, 6. ſometimes only to the Son, not mentioning the Holy Ghoſt, nor the Father.

The truth is, each teacher of Chriſtianity uſed his own mode of expreſſing glory, and though the fact has been denied *, it is notorious, that the ſame perſon, in different parts of the ſame public ſervice, adopted different forms of giving glory †.

In the more early ages of Chriſtianity, every teacher, thoſe of eminence more particularly, had

* By Bingham. B. XIV.

† Baſil affirms that he did it; and ſtates the two forms which he uſed. He ſaid "to the Father, and to the Son, *with* the Holy "Ghoſt;" and ſometimes "*in* the Holy Ghoſt." The uproar made by the Arian party, on account of his uſing the form in which *with* occurs, gave birth to his invaluable Treatiſe *On the Holy Spirit*, addreſſed to Amphilochius.

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the power of framing their own Liturgies, as well as wording their Creeds and Doxologies. Hence it is obvious, that a conſiderable degree of variety, in the expreſſion and form, would naturally, and muſt neceſſarily, enſue. Still, however, with ſome little difference in the phraſe of their Doxologies, the Chriſtians of the three firſt ages agreed in uniformly expreſſing the ſame thing. Believing, and confeſſing, that in the eternal Godhead there exiſted Three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, they aſcribed to them, all honor and glory. Whether they mentioned the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit firſt; whether they uſed this, or that prepoſition, copulative, or conjunction, were matters of which they were little ſtudious. "As long as the Trinity had due honor, "and till Arianiſm made it a matter of great "ſharpneſs, and ſubtilty of wit, to be a ſound "believing Chriſtian, men were not curious, "what *Syllables*, or *Particles* of ſpeech they uſed. "——The different forms of glorification, ſaving "only where evil minds do pervert and abuſe "holy things, are not elſe voices of error and "ſchiſm, but of ſound and ſincere religion*."

The ſophiſtical diſputations about ſyllables and words ſprang from the Mundane philoſophy. They originated with thoſe, who diſbelieved the peculiar doctrines of Chriſtianity, as held by the ancient orthodox Fathers †. The abettors of the

* *Hooker* after *Baſil.* † Baſil de Sancto Spiritu.

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Arian hereſy began to make it a diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of their party, to glorify the Father, *by* or *through* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghoſt, intending thereby to denote, that the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, were inferior to the Father, and Beings of a nature different from his *.

One of the conſequences reſulting from the ſiniſter interpretation of the Arian party, was, that this form, "which has not otherwiſe ſo much as "the ſhew of any thing ſounding towards impiety," fell into diſrepute.—Being ſuſpected of countenancing, or concealing heterodoxy, it was generally diſuſed by the Catholics. And agreeably to the ſpirit of the deciſions of the Council of Nice, that form was univerſally adopted, which comes

* Hence this Doxology became a mark, or criterion, by which the orthodox were diſtinguiſhed from the Arians. The orthodox repeated it as it ſtands in our Liturgy: but the Arians ſaid, *to* the Father, *by* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghoſt, implying the inequality of the Son, in oppoſition to the deciſions of the Council of Nice. Leontius, Biſhop of Antioch, who inclined to the Arian ſide, is ſaid to have pronounced this part of the Doxology with ſo low a voice, that no perſon could diſcover which form he uſed. But this account we have from his enemies. Leontius did not prohibit either of the forms; and notwithſtanding the aſperſions of Athanaſius and Theodorit, I admire his moderation. He foreſaw, from the violence of the contending parties, what diſſenſions would ariſe in the church of Antioch after his deceaſe; in alluſion to which, applying his hand to his *hoary* locks, he obſerved, "When this *ſnow* is diſ-"ſolved, there will be much *mire*, and *mud*." Sozom. Lib. III. Cap. XX. Theodoret. Lib. II. Cap. XXIV. See alſo *Vales. Annotat.* p. 26, on Ch. XXI. of the Second Book of Socrates, and p. 162 on the VIIIth Ch. of the Eighth Book of Sozomen.

neareſt

neareſt to the original of this Doxology, the form of baptiſm, delivered by our Lord.

Of the Addition made to the ancient Form of Gloria Patri.

Between *Gloria Patri*, as it now ſtands, and the form in which it is found in orthodox Liturgies, and writings compoſed even after the Council of Nice, there is another difference which the ſubject leads us to remark.

Both in the Greek and Latin churches the moſt common form of the Doxology was a ſingle ſentence without a reſponſe, as, "glory be to the "Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, "world without end, Amen."

In ſome churches they ſaid "glory and honor "be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the "Holy Ghoſt, for ever and ever, Amen*." And Athanaſius cites it ſimply thus: "Glory be to "the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy "Ghoſt †."

The latter clauſe, "as it was in the beginning, "is now, and ever ſhall be, world without end," was probably not inſerted till a conſiderable diſ-

* Fourth Council of Toledo, and Miſſ. Mozarab.

† Athanaſ. de Virginibus Velandiſ. p. 829 of the Com. Edit. of 1601.

tance of time after the Nicene Council *. Whatever may be the era of the addition, the occaſion of it certainly was, the ſpreading of the impious tenets of the heretics, who maintained, that the Son was not co-equal, and co-eternal, with the Father: that he was a Being of an inferior nature; and that there was a time, when the Son was not. As an antidote againſt theſe poiſons, and to exhibit a full and explicit declaration of the true primitive faith, this latter clauſe, *as it was in the beginning, &c.*, was annexed. The firſt expreſs mention we now find of the clauſe, is made by the ſecond Council of Vaiſons, in France, held A. D. 529, by which the addition was adopted †. We ought however to obſerve, that this Council refers to the uſage of the churches of Africa, Italy, and the whole weſtern ‡ world, where, as the acts of the

* Baronius thinks it was added by this Council. But the acts of the Council are ſilent on this head, and the reaſoning of the learned Cardinal is extremely unſatisfactory. See *Baron. Annal. A. D. 325 Article Gloria Patri.*

† Quia non ſolum in ſede apoſtolica, ſed etiam per totum *Orientem*, et totam Africam, propter hæreticorum aſſutiam, qua Dei filium non ſemper cum patre fuiſſe, ſed a tempore fuiſſe blaſphemant, poſt, *Gloria Patri*, &c., "ſicut erat in principio," &c., dicitur, etiam et nos in univerſis eccleſiis noſtris, hoc ita eſſe dicendum decrevimus.

‡ *Orientem*, the Eaſt, probably ſhould be *Occidentem*, the Weſt: for, as Bingham has obſerved from Strabo, the Greeks in his time omitted the latter clauſe. It may be added that the Greek church does the ſame at preſent. Inſtead of "as it was in the beginning, "&c.," the Greeks ſay, "both now and always, and for ever,

(or

the Council ſtate, the addition had already been received. This latter clauſe does not pretend to the ſanction of either apoſtolic, or primitive uſage: It reſts ſimply upon the authentic teſtimony of SCRIPTURE, which, in a variety of inſtances, aſſerts the *co-eternity*, as well as *co-equality* of the three divine perſons.

However differently the hymn may have been expreſſed, this we may aſſert, that the uſe of it has been univerſal in the church of Chriſt. The ancients concluded prayers often, and ſermons always, with a Doxology. From Caſſian, the diſciple and ſtrenuous defender of Chryſoſtom, we learn, that the Greeks repeated Glora Patri after the laſt pſalm. In all the weſtern churches, that of Rome excepted, it was uniformly uſed at the end of every Pſalm. This is the path in which the Church of England walked at her Reformation, occaſionally admitting this hymn among her prayers, and ordaining that "at the end of every "Pſalm, of *Benedicite*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, "and *Nunc dimittis*, *Gloria Patri* ſhall be re-"peated."

L'Eſtrange has obſerved, that "the words only "of this hymn are human; the ſubject is divine." The exact form of words indeed is not found in Scripture, but the hymn appears to be a para-

(or to eternal ages) Amen." Their form is found in the Liturgies aſcribed to Chryſoſtom and Baſil: Δοξα πατρι και υιω και αγιω πνευματι νυν, και αει, και εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων· Αμην.

phraſe

phraſe of the ſong of the Seraphim recorded by Iſaiah. "One cried unto another and ſaid, Holy, "Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hoſts, the whole "earth is full of his glory." Iſ. vi. 3.

And what is this Doxology, which, from the days of the apoſtles, has uniformly been uſed by Chriſt's church upon earth, but the hymn of glory deſcribed by St. John in the Revelation? "Holy, "Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, "and is, and is to come. Thou art wor-"thy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and "power; for thou haſt created all things, and for "thy pleaſure they are, and were created." (Rev. iv. 8. 11.) Whilſt the church in heaven "reſts "not day and night, but continually cries, Holy, "Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts," the church of England requires no apology for the frequent repetition of her form of aſcribing glory. GLORY BE TO THE FATHER, AND TO THE SON, AND TO THE HOLY GHOST; AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING, IS NOW, AND EVER SHALL BE, WORLD WITHOUT END. AMEN.

DOXOLOGY WHY PLACED HERE.

It has been obſerved, that David, in ſome of his penitential pſalms, after confeſſing his ſins, declaring his diſtreſs, and imploring pardon and deliverance, turns his petitions into praiſes, his ſighs and groans into ſongs of thankſgiving.—Thus We,

We, in humble hope, that our gracious Father, for his Son's ſake, by the miniſtry of the Holy Spirit, will forgive us our offences, riſe up, and *aſcribe glory to God*, to the *Father*, who grants us abſolution, to the *Son*, through whom it was purchaſed and obtained, and to the *Holy Ghoſt*, by whom it is ſealed and diſpenſed.

VERSICLES AFTER GLORIA PATRI.

The firſt, that is, the penitential part of the ſervice being completed, we proceed to the Euchariſtic; or "to render thanks to God, for the "great benefits that we have received at his "hands," and by repeating a portion of the book of pſalms "to ſet forth his moſt worthy praiſe."

Preparatory to this, the miniſter, addreſſing the congregation, exhorts them to praiſe the Lord. The Verſicle he repeats is a literal tranſlation of the Hebrew Alleluiah, a form which is employed by St. John in the Revelation, and was frequently repeated by the members of the ancient church, both in their public offices, and private devotions*.

Alleluiah

* Cantatur ubique Alleluiah. The whole aſſembly ſung it at funerals with ſo loud a voice, that Jerom ſays, the gilded roofs of the churches ſhook with Alleluiah. Aurata tecta templorum reboans in ſublime quatiebat Allelujah.—Mariners uſed it, as a ſignal, or call, at their labour, and the banks echoed Alleluiah (Sid. Apol.)

Alleluiah is likewiſe the title, as praiſe is the ſubject of many of the pſalms. And the name, by which the book of pſalms is diſtinguiſhed among the Jews, is *Sepher Tehillim*, or the book of praiſes.

In the firſt Liturgy of Edward VI. Alleluiah, which is retained untranſlated, is appointed to be ſung from Eaſter to Trinity Sunday. The fifty days between Eaſter and Pentecoſt, we have already had occaſion to remark, were, in the primitive church, days of great rejoicing in commemoration of our Lord's Reſurrection. In ſome reſpects they were obſerved with a ſolemnity equal to that of the Lord's Day. In particular the angelic hymn, Alleluiah, was in many churches chanted during this ſeaſon only* to which practice the Rubric of our firſt book of Common Prayer ſeems to refer. It ordains that after *Gloria Patri*,

—The ploughman in the field ſung Alleluiah. And St. Auſtin deſcribes it as the ſweet ſignal, or call, by which Chriſtians reciprocally invited each other to ſing praiſes to Chriſt, Celeuſma noſtrum dulce cantemus Halleluiah.—Again, Venerunt dies ut cantemus Halleluiah. In Pſalm. cx.

* In Africanis eccleſiis non omni tempore, ſed tantum Dominicis diebus, et quinquaginta poſt Domini Reſurrectionem Allelujah cantatur. Apud nos: præter dies Jejuniorum, et quadrageſimæ, *omni tempore* canitur. Iſod. de offic. Ut Halleluia, per illos ſolos dies quinquaginta, cantetur, non uſquequaque obſervatur.—Nam et in aliis diebus varie cantatur, alibi, atque alibi; ipſis autem diebus ubique. Aug. Ep. cxix. p. 119. Tom. II. Ed. Par. 1555.

ſhall

ſhall be ſaid "praiſe ye the Lord." *And from Eaſter to Trinity Sunday,* ALLELUYA*.

To the queſtion, Why Alleluiah is placed here, we reply, that, as the words "let us pray," are oftimes premiſed to excite attention to the prayer enſuing, or to intimate a tranſition from one mode of prayer to another; ſo "praiſe ye the Lord" is an indication, that we are now paſſing, from the penitential to the Euchariſtic part of the ſervice. It is at the ſame time an impreſſive invitatory, addreſſed to the whole congregation, and calling upon them to join the miniſter in praiſing God, and to unite with him, not only mentally, but vocally, by repeating the reſponſes allotted to them.

The anſwer of the people, "the Lord's name "be praiſed," ſhews their obedience to the pious exhortation of the miniſter, and evinces their deſire to join with him in praiſing God. This reſponſe was introduced into our Liturgy at the laſt review. But before this, it ſtood in the book of Common Prayer, drawn up by the Epiſcopalians in the reign of Charles I. and deſigned for the uſe of the church of Scotland. This book is commonly diſtinguiſhed from our Book of Common Prayer by the name of the Scotiſh Liturgy.—And here I notice, once for all, that many of the al-

* In the ſecond and ſubſequent books *Alleluiah* was omitted, and the Engliſh tranſlation of it only retained.

terations

terations and additions, made in our Rubrics and Liturgy, in 1661, were taken from the Scotiſh Liturgy*.

RUBRIC

BEFORE VENITE EXULTEMUS.

In the firſt Book of Common Prayer the Rubric prefixed to this part of the Liturgy ſtood thus: "Then ſhall be ſaid, or ſung, without any invi- "tatory, the pſalm, Venite Exultemus, in En- "gliſh, as followeth," which was afterwards changed into "Then ſhall be ſaid, or ſung, this "pſalm following." But theſe words being probably thought not ſufficiently explicit, the other part of the Rubric was added in the review of 1662.

*. The book prepared by the Scotiſh Biſhops, was afterwards reviſed by Archbiſhop Laud, Juxon, Biſhop of London, and Wren, Biſhop of Norwich. Juxon, who was then Lord *Treaſurer*, had employment enough of a different nature; and the labour of reviſal fell upon the other two. They made ſeveral conſiderable alterations, which were approved by his Majeſty. After having been twenty years in contemplation, the Scotiſh Liturgy, was finiſhed in 1636, and ratified by a royal edict. The reception it met with, and the ſubſequent ſuſpenſion of the Liturgy of the church of England, &c., are events but too well known. See Heylin's Life of Laud. In the Scotiſh Liturgy the new tranſlation of the pſalms is uſed; and there is annexed to a ſubſequent edition of the book, a curious rhyming verſion of the pſalms, entitled, *The Pſalms of King David tranſlated by King James.*

In

In the ſervice of the weſtern church before the reformation, the invitatory commonly was ſome ſelect paſſage, or text of Scripture, which was recited in moſt of the offices. In particular it was ſaid immediately before, and after Venite Exultemus, and frequently introduced during the repetition of the pſalm. Though Venite Exultemus is called "the invitatory pſalm," yet correctly ſpeaking, "the invitatory itſelf" comprehends only the ſixth verſe, "O come let us wor-"ſhip and fall down, and kneel, before the Lord, "our Maker." This invitatory *, at certain cloſes and periods of the pſalm, was of old, and ſtill is †, in the Romiſh church, repeated nine times during the ſinging of the pſalm. It was repeated ſometimes "perfectly," and ſometimes "imperfectly." It was ſaid to be repeated perfectly when the whole of it was repeated, and imperfectly when only a part was ſaid. For different ſeaſons, feſtivals, and offices, different invi-

* Invitatorium ipſum, ad aliquos verſus illius pſalmi, "Venite" repetitur integre, et ad alios imperfecte. Dicitur ſexies integre. Ter vero imperfecte. Durand. lib. v. de Nocturn. For this practice he gives ſome ridiculous reaſons. L'Eſtrange ſays, it was repeated ſix times by the miniſter, and as often returned by the people; in proof of which he refers to this paſſage in Durandus. L'Eſtrange probably knew that it was in his day repeated by the Gallican church twelve times, and omitted to re-examine Durandus. In the late Gallican church the invitatory was ſung after every verſe, and if we add once before the pſalm, we ſhall have *twelve*, the number mentioned by L'Eſtrange.

† I ſpeak from the authority of a Romiſh Ex-jeſuit.

tatories

tatories were appointed. But that generally uſed in the Mattins appointed for family worſhip, before the reformation, was either in Latin, *Ave, Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*, or in Engliſh "*Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee* *." This invitatory in the courſe of reciting Venite Exultemus, appears to have been ſaid about eight or nine times at leaſt. This is evident from Henry's Primers; but it is not ſo eaſy to diſcover how often it was recited perfectly, and how often imperfectly. In the very ſame copy, where the Engliſh and Latin are printed oppoſite to each other, part of it is ſometimes read in one language, and the whole in the other; and the diſagreement among different copies, of what I ſuſpect to be the ſame Primer, is conſiderable. Whether theſe variations aroſe from the miſtakes of printers, or from ſome other cauſe, I cannot detemine, and I feel little diſpoſition to enquire farther into a point of ſo little importance. The repetition of invitatories in general, our reformers probably thought an idle tautology, and the invitatory *Ave* they knew to be "a fond thing, vainly invented, and "repugnant to the word of God." All invitatories were therefore aboliſhed †.

The original of the name "invitatory pſalm,"

* See the daily Mattins in the Royal Primers.

† Wheatley, among others, confounds the *Invitatory* with the *invitatory Pſalm*, and ſuppoſes the words of Edward's Rubric, *without any Invitatory*, to mean, that this ſhall be uſed "without any *other* invitatory pſalm."

we

we learn from Chryſoſtom. He informs us, that till the whole congregation were fully aſſembled, it was uſual for thoſe who were preſent, by way of beguiling the time, to ſing pſalms, of which Venite Exultemus was the chief. Some parts of this pſalm were in ſubſequent ages ſung with a ſtrong loud voice, like the ſound of a trumpet. The intention of which was to bring the people into the church. Durandus further informs us, that in his time, (above ſix hundred years ago,) it was a cuſtom in ſome places for the people waiting in expectation of the morning ſervice, to haſten into the church as ſoon as they heard Venite Exultemus begun to be ſung*. Whether Durandus means *lying* in bed, (for this ſervice was performed at an early hour) or loitering near the church, every one muſt determine for himſelf. On this ſubject the opinions of Engliſh ritualiſts are divided.

This is certain, that the early Chriſtians, whilſt the congregation was aſſembling, and in the beginning of the ſervice, generally ſung pſalms. A ſimilar and very laudable practice ſtill prevails in ſeveral of our pariſh churches, eſpecially in the northern counties; where, after the miniſter was in the deſk, and before he began the ſentences, I have with pleaſure obſerved, all the congregation ſtanding, and ſinging the hundredth pſalm. In ſome churches in, and around London, as ſoon as

* Hinc eſt quod in quibuſdam eccleſiis jacentes ad orationem, &c.

the officiating clergyman comes out of the Veſtry Room, the organ plays, and one verſe of the pſalm is ſung. It is to be wiſhed that the practice were more general.

VENITE EXULTEMUS,

OR THE NINETY-FIFTH PSALM.

THIS pſalm is entitled VENITE EXULTEMUS from its beginning with theſe two words in the Latin verſion, in which language they ſignify "O come, "let us ſing, &c." It occurs in the Liturgies aſcribed to *Baſil* and *Chryſoſtom*; and *Auſtin* ſays it was uſed in the weſtern church. It is employed by our church as an introduction to the pſalms in general, having been originally compoſed for the public ſervice, though on what particular occaſion annotators are not agreed *. By the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews we are taught to conſider it, as an addreſs to believers under the Goſpel Diſpenſation. (Heb. III. 15.)

In this pſalm, we are firſt called upon to *praiſe* God, from the conſideration of his infinite power, which extends to all places, and has dominion over all creatures. We are then required to *pray*

* Grotius thinks it was compoſed for the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and Calvin for the Sabbath Day. Others are of opinion, that it refers to the tranſlation of the Ark. 2 Sam. VI.

to

to him, with the moſt humble adoration, as being our Saviour and Protector, and exerciſing the ſame care over his people, as the ſhepherd exerciſes over his flock. We are laſtly exhorted to *hear his holy word*, and not to harden our hearts againſt his reproofs, and calls to repentance; leſt, after the example of the unbelieving Iſraelites, who provoked and tempted him by their diſobedience in the wilderneſs, we be excluded from the everlaſting reſt of the heavenly Canaan, into which God has aſſured us with the ſolemnity of an oath, that none ſhall enter, but thoſe who are obedient to his word.

Conſidering the ſubject of the pſalm, and the motives to duty which it preſents, we find it is a very proper introduction to the ſucceeding parts of the ſervice, which conſiſt of *praiſe*, *prayer*, and *hearing* of God's holy word. Its being placed here, is an additional proof of what has been already remarked, and may every where be obſerved, the pious and prudent care of the church of England in the ſelection of her devotional offices.

OF THE

PSALMS.

The Book of Pſalms, is that collection of ſacred hymns, which were compoſed by devout members

of the Jewiſh church*, for the purpoſe of praiſing God, both on public and private occaſions. Being not merely works of human ingenuity, but dictated by the Spirit of God, they are adapted to all ſtates and conditions of the church. They are found to be as uſeful to Chriſtians of the preſent day, as they were formerly to the Jews, or even to the perſons themſelves by whom they were originally written. From this comprehenſive character, and from the intrinſic merits of ſubject and compoſition, the pſalms have always deſervedly been held in the higheſt eſtimation. Whatever difference of opinion may have exiſted among the ancient Chriſtians, either with regard to ſpeculative points of theology, or external forms of worſhip, all agreed in the uſe of theſe hymns, as the moſt effectual inſtrument of devotion†.

* They are uſually called the pſalms of *David*, from his compoſing the greater part of them. The other authors, whoſe names are mentioned, are *Aſaph*, *Ethan*, *Heman*, *Moſes* and *Solomon*, but to each of the four laſt is aſcribed only a ſingle pſalm; except we ſuppoſe that Solomon wrote the ſeventy-ſecond as well as the hundred and twenty-ſeventh. Of the 150, about 70 are expreſsly attributed to David; and there is internal evidence that others, which do not bear his name, are of his compoſition. From the number and excellence of David's pſalms, he is, in the records of his own times, ſtyled "the Sweet Pſalmiſt of Iſrael." 2 Sam. xxiii. 1.

† By *Ambroſe* the Pſalms are called the Inſtrument of Virtue; by *Baſil*, the Eſſence of Theology; by *Athanaſius* and others, the Epitome of Holy Scripture.

In

In more modern times, the truly charitable and very learned Caſſander had propoſed to compoſe out of them a *public Liturgy*, with the benevolent deſign of ſoftening the animoſities, and reconciling the diviſions which had recently taken place between the Romiſh and reformed churches.

"The ancients, when they ſpeak of the pſams," ſays, Hooker, "uſe to fall into large diſcourſes, ſhewing how this part, above the reſt, doth of purpoſe ſet forth and celebrate all the conſiderations and operations, which belong to God: it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine men: it is of things heavenly an univerſal declaration, working in them whoſe hearts God inſpireth with the due conſideration thereof, an habit or diſpoſition of mind, whereby they are made fit veſſels both for receipt, and for delivery of whatſoever ſpiritual perfection. What is there neceſſary for men to know, which the Pſalms are not able to teach *? They are to beginners an eaſy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in ſuch as are entered before, a ſtrong confirmation to the moſt

* I have never ſeen it remarked, and therefore conclude it is not generally known, that this celebrated paſſage of Hooker is partly borrowed from Baſil's Proem to the Pſalms.

Τι γαρ ουκ αν μαθοις ενταυθα;——εισαγομενος στοιχειωσις, προκοπτοντων αυξησις, τελειουμενων στηριγμα——ου της ανδριας μεγαλοψυχιας; ου της δικαιοσυνης το ακριβες; ου το της φρονησεως τελειον; &c. *Baſil, Pro. in Pſalm. Prim.*

perfect. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world, which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known, done, or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief, or disease incident to the soul of man, any wound, or sickness named, for which there is not in this treasure house a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. This is the very cause, why we iterate the Psalms oftener than any other part of Scripture besides; the cause wherefore we inure the people together with their minister, and not the minister alone, to read them, as other parts of Scripture he doth *."

But of all the encomiums, and comments that have been written on the Book of Psalms, none has given us a fairer picture of their excellence, than that of a late amiable and pious prelate of our own communion. He has collected the sentiments and observations of a great variety of writers, which he has enriched with his own, and has embellished the whole with a piety of expression, peculiar to himself. The merit of the passage must be my apology for the length of the

* Eccl. Pol. b. v. c. 37.

extract;

extract; and it would be injuſtice to the reader, to give Biſhop Horne's ſentiments in any language but his own.

"The Pſalms," ſays this excellent writer, "are an Epitome of the Bible *, adapted to the purpoſes of devotion. They treat occaſionally of the creation and formation of the world; the diſpenſations of Providence, and the economy of grace; the tranſactions of the patriarchs, the Exodus of the children of Iſrael; their journey through the wilderneſs, and their ſettlement in Canaan; their law, prieſthood, and ritual; — the exploits of their great men wrought through faith; their ſins and captivities, their repentances, and reſtorations; the ſufferings and victories of David, the peaceful and happy reign of Solomon; the advent of the Meſſiah with its effects and conſequences: his incarnation, birth, life, paſſion, death, reſurrection, aſcenſion, kingdom, and prieſthood: the effuſion of the ſpirit, the converſion of the Gentiles, the rejection of the Jews: the eſtabliſhment, increaſe, and perpetuity of the Chriſtian church: the end of the world, the general judgment, the condemnation of the wicked, and the final triumph of the righteous with their Lord and King. Theſe are the ſubjects preſented to

* Quæres utrum liber pſalmorum ſit compendium totius Theologiæ Scripturarum. Reſpondeo affirmative cum D. Hyeronymo, Baſilio, Auguſtino, &c.——"*Tractatus curioſis non indignus.*" *Jerom.* Vol. v. *Benedict. Ed.*

our imaginations. We are inſtructed how to conceive of them aright, and to expreſs the different affections, which, when ſo conceived of, they muſt excite in our minds. They are for this purpoſe adorned with the figures, and ſet off with all the graces of poetry."——

"This little volume, like the Paradiſe of Eden, affords us in perfection, though in miniature, every thing that groweth elſewhere, every tree that is pleaſant to the ſight and good for food, and above all, that which was there loſt and is here reſtored, "the tree of life in the midſt of the garden." That which we read as matter of ſpeculation in the other Scriptures, is reduced to practice, when we recite it in the pſalms. In thoſe faith and repentance are deſcribed, in theſe they are acted. By a peruſal of the former we learn how others ſerved God, but by uſing the latter we ſerve God ourſelves."

"In the language of this divine book, therefore, the prayers of the church have been offered up to the throne of grace from age to age. And it appears to have been the manual of the Son of God in the days of his fleſh; who at the concluſion of his ſupper is generally ſuppoſed, and that upon good grounds, to have ſung a hymn taken from it; who pronounced upon the croſs the beginning of the twenty-ſecond pſalm, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me! and expired with a part of the thirty-firſt in his mouth, Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit."

" Thus he who ſpake, as never man ſpake, choſe to conclude his life, to ſolace himſelf in his greateſt agony, and at laſt to breathe out his ſoul, in the pſalmiſt's form of words rather than his own. No tongue of man, or angel, as Dr. Hammond juſtly obſerves, can convey a higher idea of any book, and of their felicity who uſe it right."

" Let us ſtop for a moment to contemplate the true character of theſe ſacred hymns.—Greatneſs confers no exemption from the pains and ſorrows of life. This the Iſraelitiſh monarch experienced. He ſought, in piety that peace which he could not find in empire, and alleviated the diſquietudes of ſtate, with the exerciſes of devotion."

" His invaluable pſalms convey thoſe comforts to others, which they afforded to himſelf. Compoſed upon particular occaſions, yet deſigned for general uſe; delivered out as ſervices for Iſraelites under the law, yet no leſs adapted to the circumſtances of Chriſtians under the Goſpel: they preſent religion to us in the moſt engaging dreſs; communicating truths, which Philoſophy could never inveſtigate, in a ſtyle which poetry can never equal. Calculated alike to profit and to pleaſe, they inform the underſtanding, elevate the affections, and entertain the imagination. Indited under the influence of him, to whom all hearts are open, and all events foreknown, they ſuit mankind in all ſituations, grateful as the

Manna

Manna which deſcended from above, and conformed itſelf to every palate. The faireſt productions of human wit, after a few peruſals, like gathered flowers, wither in our hands and loſe their fragrancy; but theſe unfading plants of Paradiſe become, as we are more accuſtomed to them, ſtill more and more beautiful; their bloom appears to be daily heightened, freſh odours are emitted, and new ſweets are extracted from them. He, who hath once taſted their excellencies, will deſire to taſte them again, and he who taſtes them ofteneſt, will reliſh them beſt *."

ORDER IN WHICH THE PSALMS ARE APPOINTED TO BE READ.

The Chriſtian church has uniformly appointed the Pſalms to be repeated oftener than any other part of Scripture, excepting only that divine form of prayer, which was taught by our Lord himſelf, and in our church makes a part of every ſervice.

" Chriſtians, ſays Chryſoſtom †, exerciſe themſelves in David's Pſalms oftener than in any part of the Old, or New Teſtament.---Moſes the great Law-giver, who ſaw God face to face, and wrote

* Biſhop Horne's Preface to his Commentary.

† Hom. VI. de Pœn.

of

of the creation of the world, is ſcarcely read through once a year. The Holy Goſpels, where Chriſt's miracles are preached, where God converſes with man, where devils are caſt out, lepers are cleanſed, and the blind reſtored to ſight, where death is deſtroyed, where is the food of immortality, the holy ſacraments, the words of life, holy precepts, precious promiſes; theſe we read over once or twice a week. What ſhall I ſay of bleſſed Paul, the preacher of Chriſt? His epiſtles we read twice in the week. We get them not by heart, but attend to them while they are reading.—But as to David's Pſalms, the grace of the Holy Spirit has ſo ordered it, that they are repeated night and day. In the vigils of the church, the firſt, the midſt, the laſt, are David's Pſalms. In the morning, David's Pſalms are ſought for, and the firſt the midſt, and the laſt, is David. At funeral ſolemnities, the firſt, the midſt, and the laſt, is David. In private houſes the firſt, the midſt, and the laſt, is David.—Many that know not a letter can ſay David's Pſalms by heart."

Jerom tells us, that "in the morning, at the third, ſixth, and ninth hour, in the evening, and at midnight, David's Pſalms are ſung over in order, and no man is ſuffered to be ignorant of David's Pſalms."

From the times of the Apoſtles, the recitation of Pſalms has every where formed one principal part of the ſervice of the church. Some of the

early Chriſtians, in particular thoſe of the Eaſt, rehearſed ſometimes twenty, ſometimes ſixty pſalms in one day. About the year 350, in the churches of Egypt, twelve were repeated in the morning, and the ſame number in the evening *. This practice made its way into the weſtern church; for from Jerom we learn, that the whole book of Pſalms was read over once in ſeven days. If twenty-four were read every day, the whole would be read in ſomewhat leſs than a week †.

The original preface to the Book of Common Prayer informs us, that the Pſalms were anciently divided into ſeven portions, whereof every one

* Caſſian.

† In the religious houſes of the Greek church, the general rule is to read the whole book in ſeven days. They divide it into twenty ſections, of which two are read in the morning, and one in the evening.

TABLE.

Sect.	Pſalms.	Sect.	Pſalms.
I.	1— 8.	XI.	77— 84.
II.	9—16.	XII.	85— 90.
III.	17—23.	XIII.	91—100.
IV.	24—31.	XIV.	101—104.
V.	32—36.	XV.	105—108.
VI.	37—45.	XVI.	109—117.
VII.	46—54.	XVII.	118—
VIII.	55—63.	XVIII.	119—133.
IX.	64—69.	XIX.	134—142.
X.	70—76.	XX.	143—150.

Smith's Greek Church, and Cave's ſecond diſſertation annexed to vol. II. of Hiſt. Lit. word Ψαλτηριον.

was

was called a Nocturn *. Of late times continues the preface, a few of the Pſalms have been daily uſed, and the reſt utterly omitted. To remedy this and other inconveniences, our church has appointed the Pſalter to be read through once every month, excepting February, when it is read only to the twenty-eigth or twenty-ninth day of the month †.

In this regulation the church of England diſ-

* Nocturn in the Romiſh ſervice ſtrictly ſignifies the ſervice appointed for any night. The names *nocturn* and *antelucan*, originated from the meetings of the early Chriſtians to celebrate divine worſhip in the night, and before daybreak: a cuſtom retained by many churches long after perſecution had ceaſed. The nocturn was performed ſometimes at midnight only, and ſometimes at three different hours during the courſe of the night, viz. at nine, twelve, and three: the antelucan ſervice at day-break, prime at ſun-riſe, or the firſt hour, tierce at nine, &c.

† Order how the Pſalter is appointed to be read.—Before the laſt review, the directions for reading the Pſalter were, "It ſhall be ſaid through once every month; but becauſe ſome months be longer than ſome others be, it is thought good to make them even by theſe means. To every month concerning this purpoſe ſhall be appointed juſt 30 days. And becauſe January and March have one day above this number, and February hath only 28, February ſhall borrow of either of the months one day; and ſo the Pſalter which ſhall be read in February, muſt begin at the laſt of January, and end the firſt of March. To know what pſalms ſhall be read, look in the number, &c.—find the ſame in the table, &c.—upon that number you ſhall find what pſalms ſhall be ſaid." *Rub.* in old Books.

This Rubric, with its appendages, which made the finding of the Pſalms for the day a very intricate buſineſs, was in 1662 reſcinded, and the preſent ſimple order enacted.

plays

plays her uſual piety and judgment. With us the Pſalms are recited much oftener than any other part of Scripture, and thus far our eſtabliſhed practice correſponds with the uſage of the ancient church. At the ſame time, that all the Pſalms may be read in courſe, and that our Morning and Evening Prayer may not tire or diſguſt by its prolixity, we aſſign, for this purpoſe, the term of thirty days.

Psalms to be recited standing.

Standing has uſually been conſidered as the moſt proper attitude for praiſe and thankſgiving. Accordingly we find that, in the ancient church, the Pſalms were almoſt univerſally recited in this poſture. Even the exception made by Caſſian, in one particular caſe, proves the general truth of the obſervation. Speaking of the practice of ſome Chriſtians in the Eaſt, he ſays, that in conſequence of inceſſant labour, and of continual watching and faſting, the people were not able to ſtand all the time while twelve pſalms were reading; but at the laſt pſalm they all ſtood up, and repeated portions of it alternately *.

* Caſſian, lib. II. c. 12.

THE PSALMS RECITED BY THE MINISTER AND PEOPLE IN ALTERNATE SENTENCES.

In the early ages of Chriſtianity, when Pſalmody was conſidered as a principal part of the public worſhip, different churches recited the Pſalms in different ways.

1. They were ſometimes ſung by the whole congregation; men, women, and children all uniting their voices. This is thought to have been the moſt ancient, and was, before the introduction of alternate Pſalmody, the moſt general practice.

2. In the Egyptian monaſteries, one perſon ſtanding recited all the Pſalms, (except the laſt), the reſt of the people ſitting with humility, and liſtening with reverence *.

3. Sometimes one perſon repeated the former part of the *verſe*, as we may now properly expreſs it, and was joined by the congregation in the cloſe of the ſentence †. Even in the ſervice of thoſe churches

* Qui dicturus Pſalmos ſurrexerit. Cuncti ſedilibus humillimis inſedentes, ad vocem Pſallentis omni cordis intentione dependent. Caſſi. Inſt. l. II. c 12.

† Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. ij. 17. This was the practice of the church of Alexandria under the illuſtrious Athanaſius, who was five times expelled from his epiſcopal throne. Before his third exile a numerous body of ſoldiers (5000) beſet the church in which he was performing divine ſervice, with an intent to apprehend him. Athanaſius, who

was

churches where alternate recitation was generally practiſed, this mode, for the ſake of variety, was occaſionally adopted *.

4. A fourth way was for the congregation to divide into two parts, and to ſing, or rather chant, alternately verſes. From the reſponſories and from the chant of men, women, virgins, and children, there reſults, ſays Ambroſe, a grateful melody †.--But after all, it muſt be confeſſed, that, from the writings of the primitive fathers, we cannot, in this inſtance, prove any thing like uniformity of practice ‡.

Whatever might be the origin of the alternate recitation of Pſalms and Hymns in the Chriſtian church, we can trace its exiſtence about the cloſe

was no leſs remarkable for his preſence of mind, and promptitude in danger, than for his piety and erudition, directed a Deacon to begin the recitation of a pſalm, (probably the cxxxvith.) and the people to join with him in the clauſe "for his mercy endureth for ever."—After the Pſalm was interrupted, a prayer ſaid, and the people in general gone out, Athanaſius eſcaped among the clergy; the Arians, (who had undertaken to point him out to the ſoldiers) not diſtinguiſhing him. "I paſſed," ſays he, "through the midſt "of the ſoldiers, ſome of whom had ſurrounded the altar, and "others with drawn ſwords, were walking about the church, the "Lord guiding, and preſerving me." Athan. de Fuga. Socrates Sozom. lib. iii. c. 6. Theod. lib. ii. c. 13.

* See Baſil's very valuable 63 Epiſtle.

† Amb. Hex. l. iii. c. 5.

‡ There were, ſays Jerom, tot pene pſallentium chori, quot gentium diverſitates. Ep. ad Marcell.

of

of the firſt century*: and we know, that this practice nearly correſponds with what is related in the Old Teſtament of Moſes and Miriam. It agrees with the cuſtom of the Jewiſh church; and that our Saviour and his diſciples ſung alternately the hymn after the laſt ſupper, is an opinion by no means devoid of probability. Whether this alternate mode of recitation was uſed in the church of Antioch under Ignatius; whether he introduced it, in conſequence of his having heard the angels praiſe God in this manner; whether after his death it was for a time diſcontinued, and revived by Flavian and Diodore; or whether they firſt brought it into practice; are points not eaſily to be decided †.

Admitting, what it is preſumed the generality of Proteſtants in the preſent day are willing to admit, that the account given by Socrates ‡ is erroneous, and that Ignatius did not hear the an-

* See Pliny's celebrated Letter to Trajan.

† On this ſubject there is much diſagreement in the accounts given by the ancient eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians; as well as in the opinions of their commentators, and of liturgical writers. Some reconcile Socrates with Theodorit by ſuppoſing that one ſpeaks of hymns compoſed for the ſervice of the church, and the other of the book of pſalms. Some think Theodorit meant no more than that Flavian introduced the practice of alternate recitation in the *Greek* language, which in the *Syriac* had been uſed many years before. This is certain, at a very early period the practice was common. See Vales. annot. on Sozomen, b. iii. ch. 20. Theod. b. ii. ch. 24. Socrat. b. vi. c. 8. and Vales. annot. p. 78.

‡ Lib. vi c. 8. p. 313 Ed. Vales.

gels praiſe God in this manner, yet there is one who profeſſes he did; and the teſtimony of this witneſs few Chriſtians will be diſpoſed to diſpute. "I ſaw the Lord" ſays the evangelical prophet, "ſitting upon a throne. Above it ſtood the "Seraphim. And *one* cried unto *another* and ſaid "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hoſts. The "whole earth is full of his glory." Iſa. vi. 2, 3.

The alternate recitation of the Pſalms is not, as far as I at preſent recollect, enjoined by any Rubric, nor by any other injunction of our church. But we uniformly adopt it, and in defence of our practice, we have to alledge, that it is perfectly congenial to the uſage of antiquity, is ſanctioned by the recommendation of the wiſeſt and beſt among the fathers, has been ratified by reſpectable councils, and the moſt approved eccleſiaſtical laws, and is obviouſly calculated to keep up the attention, and aſſiſt the devotion of the people *.

Version of Psalms used in the Liturgy.

The verſion of the Pſalms, in the Common Prayer, is that of the *Great Bible*, ſo called from its appearance in a bulky volume, publiſhed under the authority of Henry VIII.—By the great Bible, or the Bible of the larger volume, is un-

* On the ſubject of the Pſalms, our method of reciting them &c. ſee Hooker's Fifth Book of Eccl. Pol.

derſtood

derſtood the tranſlation made by Tyndal, and Coverdale, and reviſed by Archbiſhop Cranmer, in contradiſtinction both to the *Biſhop's bible**, publiſhed in the reign of Elizabeth, and the tranſlation now uſed in our church. This laſt was too haſtily, and conſequently in many reſpects, not ſo ſucceſsfully executed under the auſpices of James, in 1603.

For retaining the old tranſlation of the Pſalms our reviewers have been very unjuſtly cenſured. In their vindication, it may be remarked, that they probably entertained an opinion, now very general among the learned, that the old tranſlation of the Pſalms is preferable to the new. Coverdale's† tranſlation, (for neither *Tyndal* nor *Rogers*

* The Biſhop's Bible, though a much different tranſlation from the great Bible in other reſpects, retained the ſame pſalms without any alteration. The great Bible was publiſhed after *P. Galatinus* had brought in the pronouncing, and writing of the name *Jehovah*, never before heard of in any language. It is uſed in this tranſlation, Pſ. xxxiii. 12. and Pſ. lxxxiii. 18. *Biſhop Sparrow.*

† Miles Coverdale took an active part in the reformation. P. Martyr in a letter to Bullenger expreſſes a wiſh that there were in England many ſuch men as Coverdale. He was by Cranmer conſecrated Biſhop of Exeter in the reign of Edward, and under the *Marian* perſecution deprived. Soon after his return from exile he aſſiſted, in his *Epiſcopalian character*, at the conſecration of Archbiſhop Parker: Being old and deſtitute, he was preſented by the Biſhop of London, to the church of Saint Magnus, London Bridge; of which he could not for ſome time take poſſeſſion on account of his inability to pay the firſt fruits. It is painful to read the

Rogers had any ſhare in tranſlating the Pſalms), being unfettered with the idiom of the Hebrew, is expreſſed with greater freedom, and with more regard to the genius of our language than the new tranſlation; which, from too ſervile an adherence to the letter of the original, is often more harſh in its conſtruction, and leſs harmonious in its periods. In the old tranſlation, as muſt be expected in a work compoſed above 250 years ago, we indeed ſometimes meet with an antiquated word, or phraſe, which in the new is rejected. But blemiſhes of this kind are not numerous; and where they do occur, they are ſufficiently compenſated by the general merit of the work, which will not ſhrink from a compariſon with the moſt

letters that he wrote on this occaſion to the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of London, and his friends Lord R. Dudley, and Secretary Cecil: Their general tenor is to requeſt "that they would ſet his age and "poverty before the Queen, and prevail with her to forgive him "that debt." Some of theſe letters are ſubſcribed *Old Miles* or *Poor old Miles*, with the addition, *quondam* MILES EXON. Veneration for Coverdale incites me to copy the epitaph inſcribed upon his grave-ſtone.

Hic tandem, requiemque ferens finemque laborum
Oſſa COVERDALI *mortua, tumbus habet:*
EXONIÆ *qui Præſul erat digniſſimus olim,*
Inſignis vitæ vir probitate ſuæ.
OCTOGINTA *annos grandævus vixit, &* UNUM,
Indignum paſſus ſæpius Exilium.
Sic demum variis jactatum caſibus; iſta
Excepit gremio terra benigna ſuo.

approved

approved devotional compoſitions of more modern times. Upon the whole we may venture to aſſert, that Coverdale's tranſlation is much better adapted for public worſhip, than any other that has yet appeared in the Engliſh language. Had not the reviewers of 1661, been influenced by an impreſſion of this ſort, we may reaſonably conclude, that the Pſalms, as well as the leſſons, epiſtles, and goſpels, would have been taken from James' tranſlation.

The Psalms pointed as they are to be sung, or said in Churches.

In the Prayer Book the Pſalms are pointed, as they are to be ſung, or ſaid in churches. The points are theſe two dots, (:) reſembling a colon, which occur generally about the middle of every verſe, and were intended to regulate the chanting. It is but too notorious, that their original deſtination is commonly miſunderſtood; and what is more to be lamented, many pious perſons, who have been taught to obſerve the points in reading, finding that theſe Pſalms are pointed as they were to be ſaid, are prompted, often to the manifeſt injury, and ſometimes to the entire ſubverſion of the ſenſe, to make a ſudden conſiderable pauſe at every muſical point. Were the clergy occaſionally to inform their congregations, that in the Pſalms theſe points (:) denote a reſt in the muſic only, and are to be totally diſregarded in the reading,

this might palliate the evil. But by removing theſe little "rocks of offence," a complete remedy might eaſily be effected. It muſt be preſumed, that our choirs, to whom alone the direction can be of any uſe, are too well inſtructed, and exerciſed, to require ſuch aids. But if they are neceſſary for ſome, thoſe might add the points in their own books; or from time to time, as occaſion ſhould require, an edition of the Pſalms, *pointed* as they are to be *ſung*, might be printed for cathedral and collegiate uſe *.

Gloria Patri to be said at the End of every Psalm.

In ſome parts of the eaſtern church Gloria Patri was formerly repeated at the end of the laſt pſalm, which was called Alleluja, becauſe they always ſelected for the concluding pſalm one of thoſe which had the title Alleluja prefixed. The concluding pſalm was likewiſe called Antiphona, or the Antiphonal Pſalm, from its being recited in alternate portions, that is, nearly in the ſame manner in which we repeat all the Pſalms †.

* The animadverſions on the *points* in the Pſalms, apply more ſtrongly to Te Deum, &c. In Gloria Patri, likewiſe they form a very improper disjunction.

† Illud enim quod in hac provincia (i. e. Gallia) vidimus, ut in clauſula Pſalmi omnes concinnant, *Gloria Patri, &c.*, nuſquam per omnem Orientem audivimus.—Hanc vero glorificationem Trinitatis tantummodo ſolere Antiphonam terminare. *Caſſian.*

The

The ancient practice, however, of all the weſtern churches, (that of Rome alone excepted) was to repeat Gloria Patri at the end of every pſalm. There is a peculiar propriety in this. The Doxology ſerves for a general application to each pſalm. And as a penitential pſalm may be followed by a pſalm of thankſgiving, and that ſucceeded by one of adoration or prophecy, if they were not ſeparated by this Doxology, or ſomething of the like nature, ſubjects very diſtant and diſtinct might be ſtrangely and improperly united.

Why placed in this Part of the Office.

The Daily ſervice of the church of England may be conſidered as compoſed of four parts; of which the Euchariſtic, or that which conſiſts of praiſe and thankſgiving, occupies the ſecond place. The reaſon of this diſtribution is, that we are not properly qualified to praiſe God till we have obtained remiſſion of our paſt ſins; and previous to our addreſſing God for new bleſſings and benefits, it is highly proper, that we ſhould render him thanks for thoſe that we have already received *.

This

Χρη γαρ προτερον μεν υμνειν επι πασι τον Θεον ευεργετην ειτε θυμηρη, ειτε και μη· ειθ ουτως σπουδαιως τας ικετειας προσφερειν.—*Theod. in Epiſt. ad Philip.* c. iv.

Δει γαρ υπερ των δεδομενων ευχαριστειν προτερον, και τηνικαυτα την ικετειαν προσφερειν. *Id. In Ep. ad Col.* c. iv.

This order of the ſervice is not only agreeable to reaſon and the nature of things, but conformable to the practice of the primitive church; for Baſil informs us, that "after confeſſion they roſe "up and proceeded to Pſalmody." If we have duly performed the preceding parts of the ſervice, we ſhall be diſpoſed to recite David's Pſalms with David's ſpirit. This frame of ſpirit, as Baſil obſerves, is more peculiarly neceſſary in the uſe of the pſalms. For the other parts of Scripture are read to us, but theſe every man repeats as his own words.

This work being intended not only as an aid to rational devotion in public, but as an help to holy meditation in private, the following common table is ſubjoined. It is of uſe in directing devout perſons to ſuch pſalms as may ſuit their peculiar ſpiritual circumſtances, and frame of mind. In

Διδασκομεθα πρωτον ευχαριστειν υπερ των προυπηργμενων ημιν αγαθων, εἰθ ουτως αιτειν τα ελλειποντα—τουτο γαρ εστιν ευρειν παιταχου ποιουντα τον θεον αποστολον. *Id. In Ep.* 1. *ad Theſſ.* c. 1.

Inchoari oratio debet a Dei laude. *Amb.*—Prima oratio laudem debet habere Dei. *Ibid.*—Bona oratio quæ ordinem ſervat, ut primo a divinis inchoemus laudibus. Si enim apud hominem agimus, benevolum volumus judicem facere. Quanto magis cum Dominum noſtrum precamur? primum ergo immolemus Deo ſacrificium laudis. —(Vid. 1. Tim. ii.) Doceat te Davidicus pſalmus octavus. *Id.* Virg. inſt. c. 11.

this

this table, which is capable of improvement, the pſalms are claſſed under their reſpective ſubjects.

I. *Prayers.*

I. Prayers for pardon of ſin. Pſalm 6, 25, 38, 51, 130. Pſalms ſtyled penitential 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143.

II. Prayers compoſed when the Pſalmiſt was deprived of an opportunity of the public exerciſe of religion. Pſalm 42, 43, 63, 84.

III. Prayers wherein the Pſalmiſt ſeems extremely dejected, though not totally deprived of conſolation, under his afflictions. Pſalm 13, 22, 69, 77, 88, 143.

IV. Prayers wherein the Pſalmiſt aſketh help of God, in conſideration of his own integrity, and the uprightneſs of his cauſe. Pſalm 7, 17, 26, 35.

V. Prayers expreſſing the firmeſt truth and confidence in God under afflictions. Pſalm 3, 16, 27, 31, 54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 71, 86.

VI. Prayers compoſed when the people of God were under affliction or perſecution. Pſalm 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83, 89, 94, 102, 123, 137

VII. The following are likewiſe Prayers in time of trouble and affliction. Pſalm 4, 5, 11, 28, 41, 55, 59, 64, 70, 109, 120, 140, 141, 142.

VIII. Prayers of interceſſion. Pſalm 20, 67, 122, 132, 144.

II. *Pſalms of Thankſgiving.*

I. Thankſgiving for mercies vouchſafed to particular perſons. Pſalm 9, 18, 21, 30, 34, 40, 75, 103, 108, 116, 118, 138, 144.

II. Thankſgivings for mercies vouchſafed to the Iſraelites in general. Pſalm 46, 48, 65, 66, 68, 76, 81, 85, 98, 105, 124, 126, 129, 135, 136, 149.

III. *Pſalms*

III. *Pſalms of Praiſe and Adoration, diſplaying the Attributes of God.*

I. General acknowledgments of God's goodneſs and mercy, and particularly his care and protection of good men. Pſalm 23, 34, 36, 91, 100, 103, 107, 117, 121, 145, 146.

II. Pſalms diſplaying the power, majeſty, glory, and other attributes of the Divine Being. Pſalm 8, 19, 24, 29, 33, 47, 50, 65, 66, 76, 77, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 104, 111, 113, 114, 115, 134, 139, 147, 148, 150.

IV. *Inſtructive Pſalms.*

I. The different characters of good and bad men: the happineſs of the one, and the miſeries of the other, are repreſented in the following Pſalms, 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 24, 25, 32, 34, 36, 37, 50, 52, 53, 58, 73, 75, 84, 91, 92, 94, 112, 119, 121, 125, 127, 128, 133.

II. The excellence of God's law. Pſalm 19. 119.

III. The vanity of human life. Pſalm 39, 49, 90.

IV. Advice to magiſtrates. Pſalm 82, 101.

V. The virtue of humility. Pſalm 131.

V. *Prophetical Pſalms.*

Pſalm 2, 16, 22, 40, 45, 68, 72, 87, 110, 118.

VI. *Hiſtorical Pſalms.*

Pſalm 78, 105, 106.

RUBRIC

RUBRIC CONCERNING THE LESSONS.

In this Rubric there is one paſſage at leaſt, which requires elucidation. "He that readeth "is directed ſo to ſtand, and turn himſelf, as he "may beſt be heard by all ſuch as are preſent."

The *Order*, which in legitimate copies, immediately precedes the firſt Rubric in the Morning Prayer, directs that "the Morning and Evening "Prayer ſhall be uſed in the accuſtomed place "of the church, chapel, or chancel, except it "ſhall otherwiſe be determined by the ordinary "of the place." For ſome years after the reformation, the miniſter performed theſe offices, as well as the communion ſervice, in the choir, or chancel, near the altar. In the prayers he turned towards the altar, but when he pronounced the abſolution, and read the leſſons, he turned to the people.

In many of our old pariſh churches, the chancels are nearly as long as the church: and of courſe the eaſt end of the chancel, where the miniſter officiated, is at a great diſtance from the nave or body of the church. Again, in ſome churches the voice was ſo impeded by obſtructions, that the people at the weſt end, and at the northern and ſouthern extremities could not hear diſtinctly, what was read from the chancel. For the accommodation of both the miniſter and the congre-

congregation, ſome of the biſhops, by virtue of the power with which this Rubric, made in the reign of Elizabeth, inveſts them, diſpenſed with the performance of the Morning and Evening Service at the altar; and in many places, *reading pews* were erected in the body of the church in which the miniſter read Morning and Evening Prayer. The practice ſoon became general, though it appears not to have been univerſal in the year 1603. For the canons made that year order, that "a convenient ſeat be provided for the miniſter "to read ſervice in;" an injuction unneceſſary, had there already been one in every church.

Many of theſe reading pews had two deſks. One for the book of Common Prayer, and one oppoſite to it for the bible. When the miniſter read the Prayers he neceſſarily looked towards the altar *; but when the Bible was read, by turning towards the people, he would "be beſt heard of all ſuch "as were preſent."

The office of the holy communion is ſtill expreſsly appointed to be performed in the chancel, and the prieſt is directed when he begins the Lord's Prayer, Commandments, &c., to "ſtand "on the north ſide of the table." Even when

* In the *ancient* church of England, the officiating miniſter, in prayers, lauds, confeſſions, &c., turned from the people towards the Eaſt, But in ſuch parts of the ſervice, as were addreſſed to the people, he was directed to turn towards them. This was the practice of the *ancient* Chriſtian churches in general.

there is no communion, the parts of the office that are read muſt be read from the chancel *. The Rubric here is plain and expreſs; and cuſtomary neglect, in ſome places, cannot releaſe us from our obligations to obey thoſe laws of the church, which we have ſolemnly vowed to obſerve.

From the directions of the Rubric before the leſſons there is one very general deviation, which ſome think proper enough in itſelf, provided it be allowable; I allude to the uſual form of giving out the Leſſons. It is perhaps better to ſay, *The firſt leſſon for this Morning's Service*, or *appointed for, &c., is the* 21*ſt ch. of*—or *part of the* 21*ſt ch. of—beginning at the* 10*th verſe*; than to ſay, *here beginneth the* 10*th verſe of the* 21*ſt chap. of*—. Some Clergymen ſay ſimply, *the* 21*ſt of*—or *part of the* 21*ſt of*—.

In this Rubric there is another circumſtance which it may be proper to note. The firſt leſſon is appointed to be read out of the Old Teſtament; and no mention is made of the Apocrypha in the Rubric. Yet ſome leſſons are taken out of the Apocryphal books. This difficulty, which at

* Dr. Bennet thinks theſe parts of the Communion Service may be read from the Deſk. But the judicious Archdeacon Sharpe has proved, that the arguments with which he ſupports this opinion are founded on a *miſtake*. See Bennet's Paraphraſe on the Common Prayer, and Sharpe's Third Charge.

firſt

firſt ſight may appear important, is made ſufficiently plain by the help of the calendar. Though the Apocrypha is not ſpecified in the Rubric, yet it was not meant to be excluded. The leſſons taken out of the Apocrypha are ſo few, that our reformers probably did not think them deſerving of particular notice in this place

OF THE LESSONS.

From the Exhortation, at the opening of the ſervice, we learn that one principal end of our meeting together in the houſe of God, is, "to hear his moſt holy word." After reciting a portion of the pſalms there is a peculiar propriety in reading other parts of Holy Scripture. Our minds being elevated, and our affections warmed, by celebrating the praiſes of God, we are prepared to liſten with attention and reverence to the hiſ-

* From ſome accidental inadvertencies the Rubrics are not perfectly free. For nearly a century prior to the laſt review, the Morning and Evening Prayer had been generally read, not in the chancel, but in the deſk. Yet the Rubric which precedes the Communion Service directs, "The table ſhall ſtand in the place where "Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be read." Theſe words in the Rubric were probably overlooked by the reviewers of 1661. On no other ſuppoſition can we eaſily account for their remaining unaltered, after the place of reading the Morning and Evening Prayer was changed from the table to the deſk.

tory

tory of his providence, the diſpenſation of his grace, and the rules of our duty. Here therefore follow, with the intervention only of a hymn, two leſſons, the firſt taken from the Old Teſtament, the ſecond from the New. The courſe purſued by the church points out the order and diſpoſition of the two covenants, and ſhews the harmony and connexion that exiſt between them.

In a profeſſed elucidation of the daily Common Prayer, it will naturally be expected that ſome account ſhould be given of thoſe ſacred volumes, out of which the Leſſons are taken, and at what period the inſtitution of public reading and preaching was introduced into the church.

Of the Old and New Testament.

The writings, of which the Old and New Teſtament, conſiſt, are collectively called the BIBLE*. From

* The Bible ſignifies the Book, and is ſo called from being the beſt of books, the book which we ought chiefly to ſtudy, the book that contains the rules of our duty, and can alone furniſh us with the means of performing it. The Bible, or the written word of God, is the grand inſtrument of illumination by which the mind of man is enlightened and elevated, as it were, above its natural condition. From this fountain of inſpiration all the knowledge that we can obtain, both of God and ourſelves is primarily derived. Compared with the Bible all human compoſitions are as time to eternity; theſe may afford us tranſi nt amuſement in our light afflictions: but it is the Bible alone that can be of real ſervice to us, *in the time of neceſſity and at the hour of death.* The name Bible is derived from the Greek word

From the manner in which the ſubject is preſented to us, we are apt to conſider it as a ſingle book. But the Bible conſiſts of various treatiſes compoſed by different authors, and at very diſtant periods of time. It contains a copious collection, of the works of inſpired writers, which are at preſent, in general arranged according to their different ſubjects. The arrangement of the books of the *Old Teſtament*, as well as the titles by which they have been diſtinguiſhed, has been different in different countries and times. They may however be reduced to three claſſes; 1. the hiſtorical; 2. the poetical; and, 3. the phrophetical.

1. The hiſtorical part comprehends the Pentateuch, or the five books of Moſes*, the books of Joſhua, Judges, and Ruth, the four books of Kings, the two books of Chronicles, and the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Eſther. Theſe books

word, *Biblos*, which properly ſignifies a ſpecies of Egyptian reed, of which paper, and books were anciently made.

* Moſes is ſaid to have been the Father both of hiſtory and poetry, and the inventor of letters, which he is ſuppoſed to have received by divine communication on the Mount. It is probable that the Grecian name of the Muſe, who was accounted the patroneſs of letters, and the inſpirer of wiſdom and knowledge, is the ſame with the Hebrew name of Moſes; which in the Greek language is expreſſed by Μουσα. If this be admitted as a fact, it tends very ſtrongly to ſhew from what ſource the learning of the Greeks and Romans was derived, though to them the fountain was hid, and the ſtream polluted by flowing through a corrupted ſoil.

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are written with great perſpicuity, and dignity of language. The Pentateuch more eſpecially is a maſter-piece of compoſition, and muſt claim precedency of the moſt perfect productions of human genius. Beſides a brief account of the creation and fall of man, the corruption and deſtruction of the antediluvian world, and the renovation of the human race in the family of Noah, the Pentateuch exhibits, on a larger ſcale, the lives of the patriarchs, the ſojourning of the Iſraelites in Egypt, their Exodus from thence, and progreſs through the wilderneſs, the delivery of the law from Mount Sinai, and the inſtitution of the levitical prieſthood. The remainder of the hiſtorical books contains a regular, and connected hiſtory of the Jewiſh nation, as it exiſted under different forms of government, from its firſt ſettlement in the land of Canaan, to the time of the Babyloniſh captivity.

2. The ſecond claſs contains the book of Job, the Pſalms, Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Song of Solomon. The books of this claſs are chiefly the compoſition of David and Solomon, the two moſt celebrated Kings of Iſrael, and may derive an additional value in the eſtimation of ſome from the exalted ſtation of their Authors.—The book of Job alone is of uncertain original. By ſome it has been attributed to Moſes *, and ſuppoſed to have been

* See marginal note in the Bible, on the title of the book of Job.

written during his reſidence in the land of Midian. Some think that it was compoſed by Job himſelf* in the language of his own country, and afterwards tranſlated into Hebrew by Moſes; others are of opinion that it was written ſince the days of Moſes. Whoever was the author of the book, it bears internal marks of high antiquity, and contains ſome of the ſublimeſt effuſions of poetry, that are to be found in any language.

Theſe poetical, as well as ſome of the hiſtorical books †, have been placed by the latter Jews in that claſs of Scripture, to which they have given the name of *Hagiographa*, or holy writings, not becauſe they are of a more ſacred complexion than the reſt, but to make a fanciful diſtinction between thoſe books which are inſpired and prophetical, and thoſe which are written by inſpiration, but not prophetic inſpiration. ‡ It is ſomewhat remarkable that the book of Daniel ſhould have been placed in this latter claſs. Was not this done with a view of leſſening the credit of a writer who has ſpoken more diſtinctly and clearly of the time of the coming of the Meſſiah, than any other of the prophets?

* From the nature and complexion of the poem, we might have been diſpoſed to conſider Job as a mere poetical character, if he had not been expreſſly referred to as a real character. Ezek. xiv. 14. James v. 11.

† The hiſtorical books, admitted into the *Hagiographa*, are Ruth, Eſter, Ezra, Chronicles, and Nehemiah.

‡ See Leuſden's Phil. Heb.

3. The

3. The prophetical books are alſo of a poetical caſt, and, conſidered as compoſitions, ſome of them are in no degree inferior to the moſt approved of the poetical books. This claſs includes, the four major prophets, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, and the twelve minor prophets, Hoſea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habbakuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

The prophetical books exhibit in their general features the moſt awful repreſentations of the divine majeſty, God's gracious condeſcenſion to repenting ſinners, and his extreme indignation againſt the impenitent and incorrigibly wicked. They abound with predictions, in which the Jews, the peculiar people of God, are threatened with the divine judgments, for their open and notorious violation of the law, while at intervals they are comforted with the aſſurance of a more perfect and glorious eſtabliſhment, to be completed after their ſuffering the miſeries of a long and grievous captivity.

In the prophetic books, the Gentile world is likewiſe cheered with the proſpect of a new and ſpiritual diſpenſation, which has now, "in the "fulneſs of time," been accompliſhed by the Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt.

The whole volume of theſe ſacred writings, which St. Paul dignifies with the title, "Oracles of God," was (excepting a ſmall part of a few books) originally compoſed in Hebrew, and they

have been preſerved with ſuch care and fidelity by thoſe, to whom they were committed, that they have come down to us with few material variations in the ſenſe, and with none in any eſſential point of doctrine.

Of the Books of the New Testament.

The New Teſtament conſiſts alſo of three ſpecies of writing; 1, the hiſtorical; 2, the epiſtolary; and, 3, the prophetical.

1. The hiſtorical comprehends, in the firſt place, the four Goſpels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. In theſe, the principal tranſactions of the life of our Saviour, and the inſtructions delivered by him during his public miniſtry, are recorded in ſuch a ſtyle of ſimplicity and unaffected dignity, as to be every way worthy of the *character* which the Evangeliſts delineate, and of the doctrines and duties which he taught. The hiſtorical part likewiſe contains the Acts of the Apoſtles written by St. Luke, in which are very particularly detailed the earlieſt accounts of the propagation of the Goſpel, and more eſpecially the travels and tranſactions of St. Paul.

2. The epiſtolary part is chiefly the production of St. Paul, whoſe zeal, perſeverance, and ſucceſs, in preaching the Goſpel, are equalled only by the fervency of his charity, and the animation of his language. Of the epiſtles of St. Paul, which

which are fourteen in number, the greater part is addreſſed to the different churches of Europe and Aſia, which at that time compoſed the chriſtian world, ſeveral of which the Apoſtle had himſelf planted, and all of which he had viſited in the courſe of his miniſtry. The ſubjects of which they treat is the whole ſum and ſubſtance of religion, as it relates to both the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian covenants; and the different topics are handled with ſuch a depth of argument and variety of illuſtration, as to form an inexhauſtible fund of ſcientific and practical Theology. Of St. Paul's Epiſtles it is further remarkable, that, while they are addreſſed to particular churches, or ſocieties of Chriſtians, the ſubject is of ſuch a nature, or treated in ſuch a manner, that, with allowance for local and temporary circumſtances, the precepts apply equally to all churches in the preſent day *.—The remaining epiſtles were reſpectively written by the Apoſtles James, Peter, John, and Jude.

Theſe epiſtles have been denominated Catholic † that is, univerſal or general, becauſe they are

* The epiſtles of St. Paul are not placed in exact chronological Order, but according to the priority or reputed rank of the churches to which they were addreſſed. Their arrangement in the order of *time* is ſuppoſed by Michaelis to be as follows.—Galatians, i. and ii. Theſſalonians, i. and ii. Corinthians, i. Timothy, Romans, Philemon, Coloſſians, Epheſians, Philippians, Hebrews, Titus, ii. Timothy.

† Though the whole of theſe epiſtles are denominated Catholic,

are not addreſſed to particular churches as thoſe of St. Paul were, but to the Chriſtian Community at large.

3. The part which may properly be term'd prophetical, conſiſts only of the Revelation of St. John. Under a variety of myſtical figures, and emblematical repreſentations, this book has been generally thought to deſcribe the fortunes of the Chriſtian church, tracing its progreſs through a long ſeries of depreſſion and perſecution to its final eſtabliſhment, and conſummation in glory.

The import of ſome of the viſions may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed through the ſhadowy ſcenery that ſurrounds them: but the greater part of the prophecies is ſo involved in myſtery and obſcurity, as to be unintelligible to the learned, and therefore unfit to be read to an ordinary congregation. To this obſcurity and difficulty of the ſubject, it muſt be attributed, that only three leſſons are ſelected from the book of Revelation, for the ſervice of the church.

The books of the New Teſtament, being intended for the uſe and edification of the Chriſtian world, were not written in Hebrew, as the old

yet two of them, viz. the ſecond and third of John, are addreſſed only to individuals. It was probably for this reaſon that our tranſlators departed from the Greek text, omitting the word *General* at the head of theſe epiſtles: But if theſe latter epiſtles are not to be termed General, it may be aſked with what propriety the firſt is called *the firſt epiſtle general of John?*

Teſta-

Teſtament was. If we except the Goſpel of St. Matthew, which is thought to have been originally compoſed in Syro-Chaldaic, or *the language which* JESUS *ſpoke*, all the New Teſtament was written in Greek, then the common language of the Eaſt.

OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

Though the two covenants differ in language and form, yet in ſentiment and ſubſtance they agree: they are in fact but two different parts of one and the ſame ſyſtem, the former being introductory and preparatory to the latter *. So far is the Old Teſtament from being "contrary to the "New, that in both, life everlaſting is offered "to mankind by Chriſt, who is the only mediator between God and Man; and from obedi-"ence to the commandments of the law, which "are called moral, no Chriſtain is free †." "What is the law," ſays Juſtin Martyr ‡, "but "the prediction of the Goſpel? and what is the "Goſpel, but the law fulfilled?" "Things "there prefigured," ſays Auſtin, "are here performed."

* "The law," ſays the Apoſtle, "was our ſchoolmaſter to bring "us unto Chriſt." Gal. iii. 24.

† Seventh Article of Religion.

‡ Τι γαρ εστιν ο νομος; ευαγγελιον προκατηγγελμενον. Τι δι το ευαγγελιον; νομος πεπληρωμενον. Quæſt. & Reſp. ci.

" Between the two Covenants," ſays Chryſoſtom, " there is neither repugannce, nor contra-
" riety of meaning; the difference is merely ver-
" bal*.—I have repeatedly ſaid, that two Co-
" venants, two handmaids, and two ſiſters, are
" the attendants on one Lord. Chriſt is announ-
" ced by the prophets, Chriſt is preached in the
" New Teſtament. The Old declared beforehand
" the things of the New, and the New interpre-
" ted thoſe of the Old†."

Our Saviour " came not to deſtroy the law or
" the prophets: he came not to deſtroy, but to
" fulfil." (Matt. v. 17.) He came and accompliſhed what was prefigured and predicted, he explained more fully the ſpiritual import of the *moral* law, corrected erroneous interpretations of it, and ſupplied whatever was imperfect. Thus the ſcheme of REDEMPTION myſteriouſly repreſented in the types and figures of the Old Teſtament, is more explicitly revealed in the New. The *morality* alſo of the Goſpel requires higher degrees of excellence than were enjoined by the law, as it preſcribes not only rectitude of action, but purity of principle, and forbids not only actual guilt, but all licentiouſneſs of the thoughts

* Διαφορα μονον εστιν ονοματων εν ταις διαθηκαις, ου μαχη, ουδε εναντιωσις. *Hom.* lib. vi.

† Και πολλας ειπον, οτι δυο διαθηκαι, και δυο παιδισκαι, και δυο αδελφαι, τον ενα δεσποτην δορυφορουσι. Χριστος παρα προφητας καταγγελλεται, Χριστος εν καινη κηρυσσεται.——προεβαλε την καινην η παλαια, και πεμνευσε την παλαιαν η καινη. *Hom.* cxi.

or

or paſſions.—It is therefore when the two covenants are viewed in connexion, the way in which they ought always to be viewed, that they will moſt clearly and forcibly exhibit their own excellence and utility.

Origin of reading Portions of Scripture in religious Assemblies on the Sabbath Day.

When the firſt portion of theſe ineſtimable volumes was given to the world, the divine author ſuperadded a charge, to which it is as much the duty of Chriſtians to attend, as it was theirs to whom the charge was immediately addreſſed. "This book of the law ſhall not depart out of "thy mouth; but thou ſhalt meditate therein day "and night, that thou mayſt obſerve to do according "to all that is written therein: for then ſhalt "thou make thy way proſperous, and then ſhalt "thou have good ſucceſs." (Joſh. 1. 8.) And, in another part of theſe ſacred books, we have a moſt elegant, and forcible deſcription of the bleſſedneſs of the man, who uninfluenced by the example, and unſeduced by the counſels of the wicked, ſhall place his affections on the divine law, and in that law ſhall meditate day and night. "He ſhall be like a tree," ſays the inſpired penman, "planted by the rivers of water, that "bringeth forth his fruit in his ſeaſon; his leaf

ſhall

" ſhall not wither, and whatſoever he doeth, " ſhall proſper." (Pſ. i.)

But notwithſtanding the ſtrict injunctions to meditate on the divine law day and night, and the bleſſings promiſed to thoſe " that ſhould obſerve " to do according to all things written therein," we do not find that the public reading of it on the Sabbath Day formed any part of the Moſaic inſtitution. Still, it ſeems probable, that beſide thoſe feſtivals when the law was expreſsly appointed to be publickly read, the Levites did at other times occaſionally teach it to the people. We know that, in the reign of Jehoſhaphat, Levites by his command went throughout all the cities of Judah and taught (2 Chron. xvii. 9.): and when we conſider the ſcarcity of copies of the law, (for the Levites in this inſtance were obliged to carry the book with them,) the difficulty of multiplying copies, and the general inattention of the whole Jewiſh nation to the law, we cannot conceive how the people ſhould acquire or retain any tolerable knowledge of it, except they were inſtructed oftener than once a year at the feaſt of tabernacles.

However this might be, the commencement of the practice of regularly reading portions of the law, as well as of interpreting what was read, appears to have been ſubſequent to the return from the Babyloniſh captivity. The moſt general opinion is, that during the abode of the people at Bablyon, their

their language was ſo far corrupted by converſing in a foreign idiom, that upon their return to their native country, few of them were able to underſtand the Text of their own ſcriptures. On this account it was ordained by Ezra, at the requeſt of the people themſelves, that the law of Moſes ſhould be publickly read, and expounded by Levites appointed for that purpoſe.

In the book of Nehemiah we have a particular account of the manner in which the law firſt began to be read and expounded in public: and unleſs we may except the dedication of the temple by Solomon, a more ſolemn and affecting ceremony is not recorded in the hiſtory of the Jews. "All the people," (that is, if the words are to be underſtood in their utmoſt latitude, fifty thouſand perſons) "gathered themſelves together as "one man, into the ſtreet that was before the "water-gate, and they ſpake unto Ezra the ſcribe, "to bring the book of the law of Moſes, which "the Lord had commanded to Iſrael. And Ezra "the prieſt brought the law before the congrega-"tion, both of men and women, and all that "could hear with underſtanding, upon the firſt "day of the ſeventh month. And he read therein "before the ſtreet that was before the water-gate, "from the morning until mid-day, before the "men and the women, and thoſe that could un-"derſtand; and the ears of all the people were "attentive unto the book of the law. And Ezra "the ſcribe ſtood upon a pulpit of wood, which

"they

" they had made for the purpoſe, and beſide him " ſtood Mattithiah, and Shemah, and Anaiah, " and Urijah, and Hilkiah, and Maaſeiah, on his " right hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and " Miſhael, and Malchia, and Haſhum, and Haſh- " badana, Zechariah, and Meſhullam. And Ezra " opened the book in the ſight of all the people, " (for he was above all the people) and when he " opened it, all the people ſtood up: and Ezra " bleſſed the Lord the great God: and all the " people anſwered, Amen, amen, with lifting up " their hands: and they bowed their heads, and " worſhipped the Lord with their faces to the " ground. Alſo Jeſhua, and Bani, and Sheribah, " Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodijah, Maaſeiah, " Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and " the Levites cauſed the people to underſtand the " law: and the people ſtood in their place. So " they read in the book, in the law of God diſ- " tinctly, and gave the ſenſe, and cauſed them " to underſtand the reading." (Nehemiah viii. 1—8.)

Some Jewiſh writers are of opinion, that the origin of publickly reading the *law* on the Sabbath Day is of much greater antiquity than the date here aſſigned to it. Joſephus, who no doubt delivers the ſentiments of his contemporaries, thus expreſſes himſelf. " Moſes, that he might not " leave the Jews any pretext for ignorance, in- " troduced an admirable mode of inſtruction. The

" The law, which they were bound to obey, was " not ſimply read to them once, or twice, but " he commanded them to leave their work every " Sabbath Day, and to meet together to hear the " law read. A circumſtance in which all other " legiſlators have been deficient*."

Whenever *Joſephus* ſpeaks of things, which came under his own immediate knowledge, great reſpect is due to his teſtimony. But theſe, and ſuch like ſentiments, are calculated rather to flatter the national pride of the Jews, than to give us a fair repreſentation of facts.† For where does it appear

* Joſephus cont. Ap. l. ii. c. 17.

† *Philo* likewiſe, in a paſſage recorded by Euſebius, tells us, that the public reading of the law every ſabbath day, was ordained by Moſes. He goes farther, and deſcribes the *manner* in which Moſes commanded the law to be read and expounded on thoſe days. From the words of *Philo* we may collect what was the general cuſtom in the time of our Saviour, and when *Philo* lived; but they prove nothing more.——Videtur *Philo* Judæorum morem in ſynagogis diſſerendi, *antiquitate* donare voluiſſe, quem a Chriſto, & apoſtolis obſervatum legimus. The remark of *Salian*, (Annot. A. M. 2546.) may, on this occaſion, with equal juſtice be applied to *Joſephus*. In the days of Moſes there was no place ſet apart for religious uſes but the tabernacle, and how the people that were diſperſed through the country, could aſſemble every ſabbath day before the tabernacle, (or temple afterward,) we leave Philo and Joſephus to determine.—If the people met weekly to be taught the law, the *Levitical* viſitation, inſtituted for that very purpoſe by Jehoſhaphat, was unneceſſary. (See p. 154.)—Had it been cuſtomary to read the law every ſabbath day, could the religious prince Joſiah be unacquainted

appear in the Moſaic law, that the people were commanded to meet together on the Sabbath Day for the purpoſe of hearing that law either expounded or read to them? The leading, direct, and poſitive injunctions, are, "And theſe words "which I command thee this day, ſhall be in thine "heart; *and* thou ſhalt teach them diligently "unto thy children. And ſhalt talk of them when "thou ſitteſt in thine houſe, aud when thou "walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt down, "and when thou riſeſt up. And thou ſhalt "bind them for a ſign upon thine hand, and they "ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And "thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thy "houſe, and on thy gates." Deut. vi. 6—9.

So far as regards the duty of diligently ſtudying the law, theſe expreſſions are indeed pointed and concluſive. But they go no farther than to enjoin, that maſters of families were to meditate upon the law in private, that it was to be made a ſubject of converſation with their friends, and that they ſhould be careful to teach it to their children and domeſtics. This is the *utmoſt* extent of the Moſaic injunction; and that it was received in any other ſenſe no where appears from the hiſtory of the

quainted with the cuſtom; or would he have regarded the diſcovery of a copy among the ruins of the temple, as a very extraordinary event? In ſhort, if the law were then read every week to all the people, where was the occaſion for "gathering together the elders "of Judah and Jeruſalem," for the purpoſe of reading in their ears all the words of the book? II. Kings, xxi. 11. xxii. 1. &c.

Jews.

Jews. In the reign of David, Solomon, and the ſucceeding kings, we have no account of any public meeting held on the Sabbath Day, for the purpoſe of hearing the law read, or of receiving religious inſtruction.

It is true indeed that Moſes "commanded them, "ſaying, at the end of every ſeven years, in the "ſolemnity of the year of releaſe, in the feaſt of "tabernacles, when all Iſrael is come to appear "before the Lord thy God, in the place which he "ſhall chooſe: thou ſhalt read this law before all "Iſrael, in their hearing. Gather the people to-"gether, men, and women, and children, and "thy ſtranger that is within thy gates, that they "may hear, and that they may learn and fear the "Lord your God, and obſerve to do all the words "of this law; And that their children, which "have not known any thing, may hear and learn "to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live "in the land whither ye go over Jordan to poſſeſs "it." (Deut. xxxi. 10—13.)

Had Moſes commanded the law to be read every Sabbath Day in public, the injunction to read it at the feaſt of tabernacles, and at the end of every ſeven years, in the ſolemnity of the year of releaſe, would appear to be leſs neceſſary. But the truth is, that no mention is made of the practice of reading the law on the Sabbath Day, prior to the return from the Babyloniſh captivity. After this era, we have already ſeen a very parti-

cular account of the manner in which that cuſtom was introduced. But it is not there, either ſtated or ſuggeſted to have been the continuance, or revival of an ancient cuſtom. On the contrary, it ſeems to have ariſen from the neceſſity of the caſe. The people were become unable either to read, or underſtand the original language of their own law; and therefore "the Levites read in the "book, and gave the ſenſe, and cauſed them to "underſtand the meaning."

Either in the time of Ezra*, or ſoon after, ſynagogues were firſt erected; and one was built in every place, where there were ten perſons properly qualified to attend the ſervice. The qualifications were, that they ſhould be free, and of competent age. From this period to the coming of Chriſt, the cuſtom of reading and expounding the Scripture in the ſynagogues on the Sabbath Day, was ſtrictly obſerved †. Yet during this interval, a remarkable change is ſaid to have taken place. Hitherto the *Law only* had been read, and expounded in public.‡ About the year 170 before the

* See Prideaux, Old and New Teſtament connected.

† If we date this inſtitution of Ezra, A. M. 3610, (Nehemiah c. viii.) that is, nearly 500 years before the firſt council of Jeruſalem, St. James is warranted in affirming that "Moſes of *old* time had in "every city, them that preached him," the law having then, for more than 450 years been "read in the Synagogues every ſabbath day." (Acts xv. 21.)

‡ For this purpoſe the Pentateuch was divided into 50 ſections,

the birth of Chriſt. * Antiochus, ſurnamed the *Illuſtrious*, beſide other acts of imperial cruelty and oppreſſion exerciſed upon the Jews, prohibited the reading of the law in the ſynagogue. At the firſt promulgation of this edict, the Jews, who after the Babyloniſh captivity uniformly expreſſed, externally at leaſt, the higheſt veneration for the

(or rather into 54, on account of the intercalar year) that the whole might be read over once every year. The Sections were diſtinguiſhed, as they ſtill continue to be, in the Hebrew copies, by the letter *Pe*, or *Phe*, the initial of *Pharaſha*, which ſignifies ſeparation, or diviſion. This I apprehend was the original reaſon for adopting the inverted black P [¶,] which is retained in our tranſlation of the Bible to mark paragraphs or tranſitions. The diviſion of the Old and New Teſtament into chapters is a modern practice, and the ſubdiviſion of chapters into verſes ſtill more modern: in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament by Tyndal, and in the older editions, there are no verſes. This ſubdiviſion of the New Teſtament was made by Robert Stephens, the celebrated printer, on a journey from Paris to Lyons about the year 1550.—The preſent mode of dividing the Scriptures, though attended with ſome diſadvantages, affords eaſy reference to any particular paſſage; and upon the whole, is preferable to the more ancient cuſtom of marking the columns of a page with the roman capitals, A, B, C, D, &c. It is obſervable that our Epiſtles and Goſpels in the Communion Service, ſtill remain, as the New Teſtament was printed in the reign of Edward VI., without the diviſion into verſes.

* In the ſpace of three days he deſtroyed no fewer than 80,000 Jews: yet after propoſed to become a Jew himſelf. For a more particular account of his perſecution of the Jews, and profanation of their temple, of his own ſufferings, loathſome diſeaſe and death, and of the *practices* of the Jewiſh prieſts to obtain the principality, or office of High Prieſt, ſee Joſephus, Antiq. b. xii. and the two Apocryphal Books of Maccabees.

Moſaical law, were greatly diſtreſſed. They however ſoon diſcovered an expedient, by which they contrived to evade the penalty annexed to the violation of the royal mandate, and ſtill to have their ſcriptures read and expounded in the ſynagogue on the Sabbath day *. Inſtead of the law, they read ſuch paſſages in the prophets as, either in a literal, or figurative meaning, moſt nearly reſembled the leſſons to which they had been accuſtomed. After the prohibition to read the *Law* was withdrawn, the reading of the *Prophets* was not diſcontinued. Their practice was to read and expound, firſt a portion of the law, and afterward a portion of the prophets. That this was the uſual cuſtom in the time of our Saviour's miniſtry upon earth, the words of the Goſpel will prove. The voices of Moſes and the prophets were then heard in the ſynagogue every Sabbath Day, (Acts xiii. 15. xv. 21.) and when our Lord had read a portion from the prophecy of Iſaiah,

* Antiochus interdixit,— Ne Judæi ſectionem legis in ſynagoga, publice prælegerent. Judæi, triſtes propter hoc interdictum, omiſerunt pro tempore lectionem legis ſabbathinam: ſed loco ſectionum legalium, prælegerunt quaſdam ſectiones ex prophetis, reſpondentes materiæ, quæ in illis ſectionibus legalibus continebatur.—— For inſtance, inſtead of the firſt ſection from Geneſis, which treats of the creation of the world, they took a ſection from Iſaiah, which refers to it, and read from c. xlii v. 5. to c. xliii. v. 11. In this manner they exchanged all the *legal* for *prophetical* ſections. (Leuſden. Philol. Heb. and Buxt. de Syn. Jud.) This rabbinical account is not, as I believe, confirmed either by *Maccabees*, or *Joſephus*.

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in his expoſition he applied it to himſelf. (Luke iv. 21.)

Of the manner, in which the law and the prophets were then read in the ſynagogue, we have an account from Philo, preſerved by Euſebius *. "What then did Moſes order to be done on the Sabbath day? He appointed that we ſhould all aſſemble in one place, and ſitting together in ſilence and modeſty, hear the law read †. This is done that none may remain ignorant of his obligation to obſerve it. The reader of the law is either a prieſt or an elder, who alſo expounds it. This office he continues till evening. The aſſembly then breaks up, having their minds improved, and their devotion invigorated, by the knowledge of the ſacred law."

Our Saviour, who never unneceſſarily thwarted eſtabliſhed forms, ſeems to have adopted this mode of teaching from the Jewiſh Scribes ‡. After the opening of his miſſion, "he entered into the "ſynagogue, and into the temple, and taught,"

* Prep. Evan. lib. viii. c. 7.

† See note on this paſſage, p. 157.

‡ The law of Moſes had made no proviſion for the public reading, and expounding of the Scriptures, and apparently in conſequence of the regulation of Ezra, a new order of men was appointed, who were called Scribes, Γραμματεις, that is, men of letters, learned in the moſaical law. Though the office of the Scribe was diſtinct from that of the prieſthood, yet the Scribes ſeem to have been ſelected chiefly from the tribe of *Levi*, and they were in general of the ſect of the Phariſees.

as the Scribes had done. Yet there was ſomething ſo new and ſingular, both in his doctrine, and manner of teaching, as to fill his hearers with ſurpriſe and admiration. When he firſt addreſſed his countrymen in the ſynagogue of Nazareth, "all wondered at the gracious words which pro-"ceeded out of his mouth." (Luke iv. 22.)—In the ſermon on the Mount, which may be conſidered as a complete ſpecimen of his public preaching, we have a deciſive proof, that if he copied the Scribes in their practice of teaching, he was at leaſt original in his manner, and infinitely ſurpaſſed them, in the excellence of his doctrines. At the cloſe of this diſcourſe, the Evangeliſt adds, "And it came to paſs when "Jeſus had ended theſe ſayings, the people were "aſtoniſhed at his doctrine, for he taught them "as one having authority, and not as the Scribes." (Matt. vii. 28, 29.)

From our Saviour, the taſk of preaching the Goſpel devolved upon the Apoſtles. At their firſt appointment to the office, their commiſſion was limited. It extended only "to the loſt ſheep "of the houſe of Iſrael," to whom they were directed to go, and as they went, to "preach, "ſaying, the kingdom of Heaven is come nigh "unto you." (Matt. x. 6, 7.)

After his reſurrection, they were inveſted with a more extenſive commiſſion. "Go, ye, and teach "all nations, baptizing them, in the name of "the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy "Ghoſt;

" Ghoſt; teaching them to obſerve all things " whatſoever I have commanded you; and lo, I " am with you alway even unto the end of the " world." (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.)

Accordingly " when the day of Pentecoſt was " fully come, and the promiſe of the Father" fulfilled by the viſible deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the perſons of the Apoſtles, they entered upon the arduous taſk of converting, and reclaiming the world by the miniſtry of preaching. Early on this very day, and at their firſt outſet in general, we find them proving and demonſtrating, from the law, from the Book of Pſalms, and from the Prophets, that the ſame Jeſus, whom the Jewiſh rulers had crucified and ſlain, was indeed the very Chriſt. (Acts II.) When the number of the diſciples was increaſed, they took a more ample range in their diſcourſes, and inſtead of confining themſelves to thoſe paſſages, that contained proofs of our Saviour's miſſion, we find them, " after " the reading of the law and the prophets," exhorting the people, and inſtructing them in the leading doctrines and duties of Chriſtianity.

In the public aſſemblies of the firſt Chriſtians, it is probable that portions from the whole canon of Scripture were occaſionally read, and afterwards explained. At this period the Books of the Old Teſtament were the only canonical Scripture. But as ſoon as the different parts of the New Teſtament were written and publiſhed, they likewiſe were read in the church. Thus much, as I think,

may fairly be inferred from the writings of St. Paul. He ſolemnly charges the Theſſalonians "that his "epiſtle to them be read to all the brethren." (Ch. v. 27.) And to the Coloſſians he writes, "after this epiſtle is read amongſt you, cauſe "that it be read alſo in the church of the Laodi-"ceans." (Ch. iv. 17.) Chriſtians have always had the Scriptures read in their religious aſſemblies. To Moſes and the prophets, the primitive church added the Epiſtles and Goſpels.

Juſtin, who from a Platonic philoſopher, became a Chriſtian Martyr, has given a very valuable detail of the manner in which the Euchariſt was adminiſtered, and other parts of public worſhip performed in the ſecond century. Speaking of the Leſſons, and the practice of explaining, and applying them, he ſays, "On the day, called "Sunday, there is held a meeting in one place of "all the people, whether they dwell in towns, "or in the country; and the writings of the Apo-"ſtles and Prophets are read, as far as time and "opportunity permit. Then, after the reader "has finiſhed, he that preſides, addreſſes a diſ-"courſe to the people, in which he inſtructs "them, and exhorts them to imitate the goodly "things that have been read *."

When the perſecution under Marcus Antoninus

* See his Second Apology towards the end. This Apology, to adopt the language of the times, is ſaid to have procured Juſtin "the crown of martyrdom." According to ſome, he was executed ſoon after it was preſented to the Emperor.

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(in which, among others, fell the venerable Polycarp, and the renowned Juſtin Martyr,) ceaſed to rage, the Chriſtians in general, during the milder reign of Commodus, experienced a temporary reſpite. But towards the cloſe of this century, after Severus was proclaimed Emperor, "Aſia, "Egypt, and the other provinces were dyed with "the blood of martyrs *;" and the calamities of the Chriſtians at this period probably gave birth to the apology of Tertullian. Deſcribing the practices of Chriſtians in *their* public aſſemblies, he ſays, "We meet together to hear the Holy "Scriptures rehearſed, according as the circum-"ſtances of the preſent times may require us to "forewarn, or to review. At all events, by the "Sacred Scriptures, we ſupport our faith, exalt "our hope, and confirm our confidence. We "further enforce obedience to the divine com-"mands by repeated inſtructions, by exhortations, "and by rebukes †."

Both

* Moſheim's Ecc. Hiſt.

† Though this paſſage evidently proves that the Scriptures were read, and afterwards expounded, and applied, yet the full import of each particular word is not ſo eaſily aſcertained. Whether *recognoſcere* means "to *review* our own lives for the purpoſe of "correcting what may be found amiſs," or "to *remind* us of thoſe "*trials*, which our Lord taught his diſciples to expect, in order "that, like him, we may be prepared to meet them;" or whether it particularly denotes either of the two, I venture not to hazard even a conjecture. Other parts of the paſſage are not devoid of difficulty. Suſpecting that I may have given an imperfect, or improper,

Both the length * and number of the Leſſons appear to have been different in different places. Sometimes a portion of Scripture, equal to three or four ordinary chapters, was recited as one Leſſon †: and four, three, or at leaſt two Leſſons, were always read in the courſe of the ſervice. Of theſe, ſome were taken out of the Old Teſtament, and ſome out of the New. To this general practice the ancient church of Rome afforded a ſingular exception. From old Roman ritualiſts, Stillingfleet has maintained that for upwards of 400 years after Chriſt, no part of Scripture was

proper, tranſlation, I quote the words of the original from Rigault's Edition.——Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem; ſi quid præſentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoſcere: certe fidem ſanctis vocibus paſcimus, ſpem erigimus, fiduciam figimus—diſciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus denſamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, caſtigationes, & cenſura divina.

* I do not mean to refer to the diſtinction made by Durantus, l. iii. c. 18, who ſays longer Leſſons were appointed for the nocturnal, or antelucan office, and ſhorter for the other hours; for this diſtinction probably did not exiſt before the *canonical hours* were ſettled about the fifth century. The biſhop or preſbyter, who preſided, ſometimes appointed particular Leſſons, and we have already ſeen that their length varied according to circumſtances. See Juſtin cited p. 166.

† From the Introduction to one of Origen's Homilies, we learn that the Leſſon on part of which he preached were chaps. 25, 26, 27, and 28, of the Firſt Book of Samuel. This portion, he ſays, was too copious to be handled all at once, and therefore he confines his diſcourſe to the laſt of theſe chapters, which relates a very remarkable paſſage of ſacred hiſtory, the tranſactions at En-dor.—*Hom. de Engaſt.*

read

read in that church, but the epiſtles of St. Paul, and the four Goſpels. Afterwards the Pſalms, or, at leaſt, ſelections from the Pſalms, were recited; and, in proceſs of time, Leſſons taken from the Old and New Teſtament were introduced. This practice, Stillingfleet thinks was borrowed from the Gallic church, as other enlargements of the Romiſh offices confeſſedly were *.

In ſome countries only two Leſſons were read, and they immediately followed the Pſalms. This order, Caſſian ſays, was ſo very ancient in Egypt, that it was not known whether the inſtitution was of human, apoſtolic, or divine appointment: and he, with others, is diſpoſed to attribute it to the miniſtry of angels. This practice was probably eſtabliſhed by Caſſian in ſome parts of the Gallican church; and when we conſider the intimate connection that about this period ſubſiſted between it and the Britiſh church, and the general uniformity of their inſtitutions, it is not unreaſonable to conclude, that from Gaul the cuſtom was introduced into Britain.

In reading the Leſſons, the early Chriſtians had ſome peculiar cuſtoms, which it may be proper to notice. Before the reader began, ſometimes the biſhop addreſſed the people with this ſalutation, "peace be unto you." An aſſiſtant deacon

* Orig. Brit. c. IV. p. 217, &c. I own I doubt this account, as well as the aſſertion of Sozomen, (l. 7. c. 19.) when brought to prove that prior to the year 500, there were no Homilies in the church of Rome.

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ſtood up, and with a loud voice ſaid, "Brethren, let us hearken." The reader introduced the Leſſon with theſe words, "Thus ſaith the Lord." In ſome places immediately before the reading of the Scriptures, it was cuſtomary for the people to waſh their hands, a ſignificant emblem of the "pure affection" with which we muſt hear and receive the word of God, if we expect to profit by its inſtructions, and are deſirous to "bring forth the fruits of the ſpirit."

Order in which the Lessons are appointed to be read.

That the Scriptures were commonly read not promiſcuouſly, but in ſome certain ſtated order, is evident from the writings of many of the fathers, and more eſpecially from thoſe of Chryſoſtom. In his Tenth Homily on the Goſpel of St. John, he exhorts the congregation to read at home, in the courſe of the preceding week, ſuch portions of this Goſpel, as they knew would, on Sunday, be read, and expounded in the church.

The Leſſons were followed by the Homily *, or Sermon, which generally was an explanation of ſome

* The name Homily comes from the Greek ομιλια, which, among the eccleſiaſtical writers, ſignifies an inſtructive diſcourſe addreſſed to the people, whether extemporary, or read out of a book.——Olim hæc interpretatio ad populum non ex libro fiebat, ſed vivâ voce. (Renaud. Lit. Orient. Tom. I. p. 204.) In the weſtern church, theſe explanations were called *tractatus*, and the preachers

ſome paſſage, or portion, of the Scriptures that had been read in the ſervice of the day.

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preachers *tractatores*, from their *handling*, and expounding what had before been read in the Leſſons. Origen expreſsly calls Sermons, *explanations of the Leſſons*; (τῶν εἰς τὰ ἀναγνώσματα διηγήσεων—Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. iii.) and ſuch explanations are his Homilies, or Sermons, and many of thoſe of Chryſoſtom and Auſtin. As for the *length* of their Sermons, they uſually preached almoſt an hour; yet ſome of Auſtin's diſcourſes in their preſent form might be delivered in leſs than fifteen minutes; and the greater part of Leo's in five, or ſix. The diſcourſes of Chryſologus are remarkably ſhort. Gregory the Great, in one of his Homilies on the Goſpel for Chriſtmas-day, obſerves, that ſince, by the bleſſing of God, the Euchariſt would on that day be three times celebrated, (probably becauſe the communicants were three times as many as the church could contain at once,) his diſcourſe muſt be very ſhort. When the Leſſons conſiſted of ſeveral chapters, the preacher paſſed over ſome of the matter contained in them, and treated only of ſuch parts as were moſt important. As for the manner of their Sermons, we may obſerve this method in the Homilies of Origen. He began with a ſhort exordium, then explained verſe after verſe, or ſentence after ſentence, ſhewing the natural, and literal, ſignification of the words, and then their ſpiritual or myſtical meaning, and concluded with a ſuitable application of the whole, "either by exhorting the "people to the practice of piety and virtue, or diſſuading them "from irreligion and vice." (Orig. cont. Celſ. l. iii.) They likewiſe accommodated their diſcourſes to the capacities of their hearers. (*Ibid.*)

The ancient practice of explaining conſiderable portions of Scripture to the people was revived by our reformers. Before them, Colet had employed many years in publicly expounding all the epiſtles written by St. Paul. Archbiſhop Cranmer expounded Hebrews, as Biſhops Hooper, Latimer, and Jewel, did Jonah, the Lord's Prayer, many of the Epiſtles, and all the Epiſtles and Goſpels uſed in the Communion ſervice on Sundays and holidays.

From

The writings of Auſtin evince, that, in his time, the church had certain fixed Leſſons for *ordinary days*, and others for *feſtivals*. "You may "remember," ſays he to his audience, "that I "have lately been treating of the Goſpel accord- "ing to John, as appointed to be read in the "order of Leſſons *. But at preſent, becauſe "ſolemn holidays intervene, for which proper "Leſſons are appointed, and on which no others "muſt be uſed, I am under the neceſſity of in- "terrupting the courſe I had begun. Though I "ſuſpend for a ſhort time my expoſition of that "Goſpel, it is not my deſign to relinquiſh it alto- "gether." This paſſage proves, that the practice of the church in the time of Auſtin, bears a ſtrong reſemblance to the regulations of the church of England, which has leſſons read *in courſe* on ordinary days, and *proper* leſſons for all Sundays and other holidays; and which likewiſe directs, that "whenever proper leſſons are appointed, then the "leſſons of ordinary courſe ſhall be omitted for that time †.

"The ancient fathers," as our church obſerves ‡,

From the practice of Ambroſe, Origen, Chryſoſtom, and Auſtin, among the ancients, and of our reformers, and other more modern divines, we may with ſafety affirm, that explaining and applying portions of Scripture read in the Leſſons, is a very beneficial mode of preaching to ordinary congregations.

* Ex *ordine* lectionum—*certas* ex evangelio lectiones oportet in eccleſiâ recitari, quæ *ita ſunt certæ, ut aliæ eſſe non poſſunt.*

† Order how the Scripture is appointed to be read.

‡ Concerning the ſervice of the church.

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" ſo ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible, " or the greateſt part of it, ſhould be read over " once every year; that the people, by daily hear- " ing of the Holy Scripture read in the church, " might continually profit more and more in the " knowledge of God, and be more inflamed with " the love of his true religion? This Godly and " decent order of the ancient fathers had," as our reformers complain, " been ſo altered, broken, " and neglected, by planting in uncertain ſtories " and legends, with multitudes of reſponds, verſes, " vain repetitions, commemorations, and ſyno- " dals, that not more than three or four chapters " of Geneſis, or Iſaiah, or any other book, was " commonly read, and all the reſt left unread."

To remedy theſe inconveniences there was drawn up at the reformation a calendar of leſſons plain and eaſy to be underſtood. All legends *, and what-

* Legends in the Roman church are Leſſons from the Breviary concerning the Saint, whoſe feſtival is celebrated. Though they were read chiefly on Saints' Days, yet almoſt every day being dedicated to ſome Saint, or other, and the office for the Saint's Day on all DOUBLES ſuperſeding the office for the Sunday, (excepting thoſe of Advent and Lent, with Eaſter-day, Whitſunday, and Trinity Sunday, which take place of doubles,) thoſe legends generally made a part of the daily ſervice. On the anniverſaries of modern Saints, ſuch legendary ſtories might naturally be expected. But there was introduced even into the hiſtory of the apoſtles themſelves, an incongruous mixture of divine truth, and monkiſh fiction. A very few ſpecimens will be thought ſufficient for the reader, and perhaps too much for ſo ſolemn a ſubject. I ſhall therefore produce only

whatever was untrue, uncertain, or ſuperſtitious, were omitted. Nothing was ordained to be read but the pure word of God, or that which is agreeable to the ſame, and all reſponds *; with whatever interrupted the reading of the Holy Scriptures,

only two, which occur at the commencement of the eccleſiaſtical year.

On St. Andrew's Day, the Legends repreſent the apoſtle addreſſing the croſs on which he was to ſuffer, in the language of a monk. Doctor bonus, et Amicus Dei Andreas, ducitur ad crucem; quam a longe aſpiciens dixit—*Salve crux*, &c., and again, *O bona crux, diu deſiderata, ſolicite amata, & aliquando præparata*, &c.; and again, *O crux admirabilis, O crux deſiderabilis*, &c. (See in the Roman, and Saliſbury Breviaries, Lections for Nov. 30.)

On Dec. 4. the Legends relate that the corpſe of St. Bennet, being put into a boat frozen up in the river, thawed the ice, and without oars, or any human aid, ſailed up the ſtream ſixteen miles to the place of interment. Though the winter was ſevere, all the trees put forth bloſſoms, &c.——With ſuch idle tales did the church of Rome once abuſe the credulous, and ſuperſtitious multitude; that is, ſuch as underſtood Latin. It ſhould be remarked, however, that many of theſe ridiculous ſtories have been thrown out of the modern Breviaries, and more eſpecially out of thoſe uſed in ſome dioceſes of the late Gallican church.

* A reſpond was introduced ſometimes in the middle of a chapter. But no *reſpond* (or as the Engliſh Roman Catholics more properly ſay, *reſponſe*) was introduced in the middle of a Leſſon, neither was it a hymn, nor any part of a hymn; though both of theſe propoſitions have been inadvertently laid down by writers on the Engliſh Liturgy. When a conſiderable portion of Scripture, equal, for inſtance, to a chapter of moderate length, was divided into ſeveral Leſſons, read in one ſervice, a ſhort reſpond followed each, and thus interrupted the reading. At the cloſe of the whole, longer reſponſes were generally uſed.

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were aboliſhed. "The Old Teſtament is ap-
"pointed for the firſt *leſſons* at Morning and
"Evening Prayer; ſo as the moſt part thereof
"will be read every year once, as in the calendar
"is appointed *.—And the New for the ſecond
"leſſons at Morning and Evening Prayer, and
"ſhall be read over orderly every year thrice,
"beſides the Epiſtles and Goſpels; except the
"Apocalypſe, out of which there are only certain
"proper leſſons appointed upon diverſe feaſts †."

Here we muſt remark more particularly what was incidentally mentioned before, that the church of England in the appointment of leſſons obſerves two different courſes.—One for ordinary days, and another for holidays.

On ordinary days ſhe begins the courſe of her firſt leſſons with the book of Geneſis in the beginning of her civil year; and proceeds regularly through the greateſt part of the Bible. Iſaiah alone is not read in the order in which it ſtands. The evangelical prophet, in conformity to primitive uſage, our church reſerves to be read in the ſeaſon of Advent. Before Iſaiah, and after the other ca-

* The original Rubric, which till the laſt review, remained unaltered, aſſigns the reaſon why the *moſt part only*, and not the *whole* is read. "The Old Teſtament is appointed for the firſt Leſſons at "Morning and Evening Prayer, and ſhall be read through every "year once, *except certain books and chapters, which be leaſt edifying, "and might be beſt ſpared, and therefore are left unread.*" Why was this Rubric thus curtailed and modified in 1661?

† Order how the Holy Scripture is appointed to be read.

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nonical Scriptures, the church ſubſtitutes ſome Apocryphal leſſons in the room of the canonical Scripture that has been omitted.

For it muſt be obſerved, that though "the moſt "part of the Bible is read through every year "once," yet ſome chapters of particular books, and three whole books, are left unread and unnoticed. What were the reaſons, why theſe parts were omitted, I now proceed to enquire.

Of GENESIS, chaps. 10, 11, and 36, are not read. Chaps. 10 and 36 are excluded evidently becauſe they contain little elſe than genealogies. But the firſt nine verſes of chap. 11. give an account of a moſt extraordinary diſplay of the Divine Power, the confuſion of tongues at Babel; and it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why the whole is omitted *. That it was not rejected from any exception to the paſſage of hiſtory, is clear; for this very part is received into the table of Leſſons for holidays †.

Of EXODUS we read the firſt 24 chapters, excepting only ſome repetitions and genealogies that occur in the latter part of chap. 6. From ch. 25 to the end of the book, we find little that does not relate to the ark, and other local and

* Shorter and leſs important leſſons are read. See the firſt Leſſon at Morning Prayer, on Oct. 2.

† This chapter is read in courſe in the Epiſcopalian church of America, which has in general retained only ſuch chapters and books as the compilers of her Liturgy found in our calendar. Chap. 11. ſtood alſo in the Scotiſh Liturgy.

temporary particulars, and theſe chapters are therefore properly omitted. But to this general obſervation, chaps. 32, 33, and 34, form an objection, and are accordingly read *.

LEVITICUS treats chiefly of Jewiſh ſacrifices and ceremonial obſervances, of clean and unclean beaſts and birds, of lepers, &c. Of this book we therefore read only four chapters, and two of the four, 18 and 20, were perhaps better omitted. They contain little more than a detail of the unlawful luſts, and impure practices of the Canaanites; and of ſuch execrable vices, which were recorded by the Jewiſh Legiſlator, only that they might be prohibited, it may not, in a mixed congregation of Chriſtian worſhippers, be proper to ſpeak. The humanity and benevolence diſplayed in chapter 25, breathe a truly evangelical ſpirit. Were this chapter, which is not read, divided into two Leſſons, it might form an acceptable ſubſtitute for the two before mentioned †.

What was obſerved of Leviticus in general, is applicable to many of the chapters of NUMBERS, which are therefore omitted ‡.—Beſides thoſe already excluded from the public ſervice, ſome others which are retained, being leſs intereſting

* Chaps. 35 and 40 are likewiſe retained in the Scotiſh calendar.

† Beſides chap. 25, the 9, 12, 16, 21, 23, 24, and 27, are retained in the Scotiſh calendar.

‡ The Scotiſh Liturgy has chaps. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, as well as thoſe we read.

to Chriſtians, might without detriment be diſcharged from the calendar

All DEUTERONOMY is read, except chap. 23, againſt which there lies much the ſame objection with that made to 18 and 20 of Leviticus; and the other parts of the chapter record little more than Jewiſh obſervances †.

The hiſtory contained in JOSHUA, from chap. 11 to 22 incluſive, is not read. It treats of the deſtruction of petty kings: the paſſage of the Iſraelites into Canaan, and the diviſion of the land among them. Yet chap. 11 certainly has full as fair a claim to admiſſion into the calendar, as ch. 10. ſeems to have to the rank of a proper leſſon. Nor do any ſufficient reaſons appear why chap. 22, and ſome others, are rejected †.

Both the Books of CHRONICLES are entirely excluded, probably becauſe they principally conſiſt of details of facts, which are in general more fully related in the preceding hiſtorical books. But in Chronicles there are various paſſages, well deſerving of our attention, which are no where elſe

* For inſtances take 30 and 36.

† Deut. 14 does not appear in the Scotiſh calendar, though chap. 23 is there retained.

‡ Chaps. 14, 20, 22 ſtand in Sc. cal.

to

to be found, and might therefore with propriety be read *.

Chap. 2 of EZRA is a mere catalogue of names, and therefore properly omitted. Ch. 8 likewiſe to verſe 15 contains a liſt of names. This was probably the reaſon why the whole has been rejected †. Ch. 10 is not read.

Of NEHEMIAH, chap. 3, 7, 11, 12, which conſiſt only of the "names of them that builded the "wall," "regiſters of genealogies," &c., having no tendency to Chriſtian edification, are not read.

Chap. 10 of ESTHER was probably thought too ſhort, and the matter not ſufficiently important for a Leſſon ‡.

Of

* In the Scotiſh Common Prayer, 1 Chron. c. 10 is begun to be read inſtead of Apocryphal Leſſons, at M. P. on November 23; and then 13, 14, &c. to 23, and 29. Of 2 Chron. 1, 2, 5, 6, &c. to 36, are read, which laſt is appointed for the Evening Prayer on December 16. On Dec. 17 at M. P. is read chap. 47 of Iſaiah. This book is continued to the end of the month as in our calendar.—Neither does the Epiſcopalian church of America admit any part of the Apocryphal books into the table of ordinary Leſſons. To ſupply the deficiency of firſt Leſſons from canonical Scripture, the framers of her calendar have ſometimes introduced chapters omitted in ours. But their general practice is to divide into two Leſſons many of the longer chapters which we read as one. On holidays the Apocryphal Leſſons, appointed by the church of England, are retained without variation.

† In Scot. cal. Ezra 7 is not appointed, but 8 and 10 are.

‡ In the Scotiſh calendar chaps. 9 and 10 make one Leſſon, and

Of PROVERBS chap. 30 is the only one not read in the church. In it there occur a very few verſes which render the reading of the whole leſs proper. If this was the reaſon of its being entirely rejected, the argument applies with much more force againſt ſome chapters already noticed. Among the ordinary Leſſons at leaſt, one would have wiſhed that *Agur's confeſſion and prayer* had been retained *.

The SONG of SOLOMON is totally omitted. The ſpiritual meaning of this moſt beautiful, but myſterious compoſition, exhibits, like pſalm 45, the union that exiſts between Chriſt, and his ſpouſe, the church, which numbers in a mixed congregation cannot be ſuppoſed to be capable of underſtanding †.

EZEKIEL is divided into 48 chapters, of which only 9 are read. For the numerous exceptions to this book we may aſſign the ſame reaſon, that is given for the omiſſion of almoſt the whole book of revelation. To a conſiderable degree it conſiſts of viſions, the ſenſe of many of which is confeſſedly obſcure even to the learned; and beſide this, ſome

this is almoſt the only inſtance where two chapters are thrown together. On the contrary, in our calendar the practice is not uncommon; and why it was not complied with here, no reaſon I apprehend can now be given.

* In the Scot. Lit. c. 30 is read.

† For reaſons ſufficiently obvious the Jews permitted the Song of Solomon to be read by none under thirty years of age.

chapters

chapters contain paſſages, which in their preſent literal tranſlation, are improper to be recited in the public ſervice. There is likewiſe in the ſtyle and language of Ezekiel, as well as in the ſubjects of which he treats, and the form in which his prophecy is preſented, ſomething, that occaſionally makes this book leſs eligible for public reading, than thoſe of the other prophets. There are however many chapters in Ezekiel, at preſent omitted in the calendar, which might without impropriety have been introduced, in the place of Leſſons, which appear leſs deſerving of the ſituation they now hold, more eſpecially of ſome taken from the Apocryphal books *.—Excepting the omiſſion of the greater part of Ezekiel, the whole of the prophetical books of the Old Teſtament are read through once a year.

From this curſory examination of the contents

* Beſides the nine we read, (except 33) the Scot. cal. appoints 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, &c. to 25, the 35, 36, and 37, to be read. —It is not eaſy to aſſign any good reaſon why 20 and 24, which are appointed for *proper* Leſſons on the 17 and 18 Sundays after Trinity, were overlooked in the reviſals of the *calendar:* nor to account for *mattins* and *evenſong* being ſuffered to remain ſtanding at the head of the columns of proper Leſſons for Sundays and holidays, when theſe terms had for more than a century prior to the laſt review, been diſuſed in other parts of the Book of Common Prayer. Neither does "the annunciation of *our Lady*" in the table of Leſſons, exactly correſpond with the title prefixed to the collect, epiſtle, and goſpel, for the ſame holiday. Theſe trifling diſagreements were, I preſume, overlooked.

of the parts omitted, we in general diſcover very ſatisfactory reaſons, why they were excluded from the calendar. And if in the courſe of the inveſtigation, we have found ſome parts, not appointed to be read for the omiſſion of which we cannot ſo eaſily account, we ſhould reflect that the reformers and reviſors could but exerciſe their beſt judgment and diſcretion: and though it would appear that leſs attention has been paid to the ſelection of Leſſons from the Old Teſtament than to other parts of the ſervice, yet the reſpect which in general we find due to the care and wiſdom of the compilers and reviewers of our Liturgy, ſhould lead us to ſuppoſe that they had reaſonable grounds for theſe omiſſions.

Of the First Lessons appointed for Sundays and other Holidays.

On Sundays and all the other days appointed to be kept holy *, the regulations of the church, reſpecting the *firſt* Leſſons, vary, as we obſerved before, from the courſe purſued on ordinary days. As the Leſſons in the calendar may be called ordinary or *common* Leſſons, ſo thoſe for Sundays and the other Holidays are called *proper*. The proper Leſſons are upon the whole very judiciouſly ſelected. The moſt inſtructive chapters are ap-

* If we except Aſh-wedneſday, for which no proper Leſſons are appointed, though it has proper pſalms, and a proper collect, epiſtle, and goſpel; with a ſpecial ſervice.

propriated

propriated to Sundays, becauſe the audience on theſe days is preſumed to be the moſt numerous. And where the anniverſary of an event, which has been predicted, is celebrated, the moſt ſtriking prophecy relating to it, is commonly appointed to be read.

The church begins her eccleſiaſtical year with Advent. For the Sundays in Advent, after Chriſtmas, and after the Epiphany, proper firſt Leſſons are ſelected from *Iſaiah*, who, on account of the clearneſs with which he has ſpoken of the Meſſiah, and the Goſpel diſpenſation, is uſually ſtyled "the evangelical prophet."

Upon Septuageſima, and the two following Sundays, and through the greater part of Lent, *Geneſis* is read. This Book, which relates the fall, and its fatal effects, the corruption of the human race, and their conſequent deſtruction, was probably thought beſt adapted to this penitential ſeaſon. I have already had occaſion to notice, that in the primitive church, Geneſis was read in Lent.

Towards the approach of Eaſter, and on Eaſter-day, proper Leſſons are ſelected out of *Exodus*, in which, under the figure of the deliverance of Iſrael from its bondage in Egypt, and by the inſtitution of the paſſover, is repreſented our redemption from ſin and death, by the ſacrifice "of the "lamb, ſlain from the foundation of the world." (Rev. xiii. 8.)

The church then proceeds through the books

of the Old Teſtament in the order in which they ſtand, ſelecting ſuch chapters as were thought moſt intereſting and inſtructive *.

For Holidays, our reformers † have generally appointed proper firſt Leſſons out of the books that may be called *moral*, out of Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Apocryphal writings, Eccleſiaſticus and Wiſdom. Some of the Romaniſts had exalted the Virgin Mother above the Son of God ‡. This

* No perſon profeſſing the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church, can juſtly find fault with the order of our proper Leſſons for Sundays, though it may be his opinion, that, if ſome of the hiſtorical parts were omitted, their loſs might be amply compenſated by introducing portions of Deuteronomy, Job, and the Prophets. This, according to my minutes, was the obſervation of Dr. Wheeler, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford, in a lecture on the Pſalms and Leſſons, delivered in 1781.

† Proper Leſſons for ſome *Holidays* were appointed in the firſt book of Common Prayer, though many of the Leſſons that now appear in "the Table of proper Leſſons on the *Holidays*" were omitted in both of Edward's books. The proper Leſſons for *Sundays* were firſt introduced ſoon after the reſtoration of the Common Prayer in the reign of Elizabeth.

‡ Alter error eſt, (ſays the honeſt Caſſander, ſpeaking of the opinions and practices of members of churches of his own communion) quod homines etiam non mali, certos ſibi *ſanctos*, tanquam patronos, & tutores delegerunt, in eorum meritis atque interceſſione plus quam in CHRISTI *merito* fiduciam poſuerunt, atque adeo, *unico illo advocationis* CHRISTI *officio obſcurato*, SANCTOS, atque imprimis VIRGINEM MATREM in ILLIUS locum ſubſtituerunt. Imo non defuerunt viri etiam celebres, qui aſſererent id quod *Heſter Aſſuero* promiſit, (meaning what Ahaſuerus promiſed to Eſther, chap. v. 3.) ſe petenti dimidium regni daturum, in *Maria* completum eſſe.— Hinc

This perhaps was the reaſon why Apocryphal Leſſons were aſſigned to the purification, and annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin.

It was probably upon ſimilar principles that the firſt Leſſons, directed to be read on the greater part of the Saints' Days, are taken from the Apocrypha.

When a Sunday and a Saint's Day coincide, we appear to be left in ſome degree of uncertainty, whether the firſt Leſſon, together with the ſervice for the Holiday, or that for the Sunday, is to be read. The conſequence is, ſays Arch-deacon Sharpe *, "that the clergy differ in their practice, and uſe the ſervice appropriate to that feſtival, to which in their private opinion they give the preference. Some chuſe to intermix

Hinc illi tituli—*Regina cæli, vitæ, ſpes noſtra, lux eccleſiæ, advocata, & mediatrix.* Quæ etſi commodam interpretationem admittant, ea tamen non ſemper omnibus, præſertim rudibus, & imperitis occurrit.—Quid quod totum pſalterium, ſublato ubique *Domini* nomine, in nomen *Dominæ* commutatum legitur? Quin et eo ventum eſt, ut etiam Chriſtus jam in cœlo regnans, matri ſubjiciatur: quomodo in nonnullis eccleſiis canitur,

Ora matrem, et jube filio,

Item,

O felix puerpera, Noſtra pians ſcelera.
Jure matris impera Redemptori.

See *Conſultatio Caſſandri*, compoſed at the ſpecial requeſt of the Emperors Ferdinand, and Maximilian II. Art. de interceſſione ſanctorum.

* Fourth viſitation charge, p. 75.

them, using the collects appointed to each, and preferring the first Lesson for the Sunday, taken out of a canonical book, to that for the holiday, "if it happens to be appointed in the Apocrypha." Uniformity of practice was certainly intended by the church, and what now may seem to require the direction of a Rubric, or at least the decision of the Diocesan, our forefathers, in all probability, thought sufficiently plain. They knew that prior to the reformation, (admitting that the practice of England corresponded with that of the Roman and Gallican churches,) the service for all the Holidays now retained, being *doubles*, generally took place of that appointed for ordinary Sundays*: They would therefore naturally read the service for the Saint's Day, and omit that for the Sunday in general. This continues to be the practice of the Roman church, and it was the practice of the Gallican church for more than a century after the era of our reformation. In some parts of the late Gallican church a change took place about the beginning of the present century, and the service for the Sunday was appointed to supersede that for the Saint's Day. But in our church no such alterations have been made by lawful authority. Hence it would appear that the service for the Saint's Day, and not that for the Sunday, should be used.—And notwithstanding there exists some diversity of opi-

* See exceptions to the general rule in note p. 173.

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nion on this ſubject, yet the *moſt general practice* ſeems to be to read the *Collect*, *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*, for the *Saint's Day*, and it is moſt conſonant to that practice to read alſo the *firſt Leſſon* appropriated to that day *.

From the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Book of Common Prayer to the end of Edward's reign, there was an order of proper Leſſons for ſome of the Saints' Days †, but no proper Leſſons were then appointed for Sundays; the Sunday Leſſon, like the Leſſons for ordinary days, being read in courſe, and varying every year. Does it not from

* This remark I have heard made by the Lord Biſhop of London.

† The proper Leſſons were not originally arranged in a table, but the *Order* for proper Leſſons at Mattins was prefixed, and that for thoſe at evenſong, annexed to the appropriate ſervice at the communion. An example extracted from Edward's book will illuſtrate my meaning.

"*ALL SAINTS.*"

"PROPER LESSONS AT MATTINS."

"*The firſt Leſſon* SAPI. III. *unto* Bleſſed is rather the barren." "*The ſecond Leſſon.* Hebre. xi. xii. Saints by faith ſubdued, *unto* If "ye endure chaſtiſing.

"AT THE COMMUNION."

"Cantate domino, pſalm 149. Sing unto the Lord a new ſong, &c." This was the introit, after which were printed the Collect, Epiſtle, and Goſpel, as in our modern books. After the Goſpel ſtood

"PROPER LESSONS AT EVENSONG."

"*The firſt Leſſon. Sap.* v. *(unto)* His jealouſy alſo." "*The ſecond Leſſon.* Apoc. xix. *(unto)* and I ſaw an angel ſtand." And thus all the other proper Leſſons, then appointed, were *ordered*; thoſe for the morning being noticed before the Introit, and thoſe for the Evening after the Goſpel.

this

this regulation appear, that a decided preference was given to the Saint's Day by the original compilers of our Liturgy? By the act of uniformity *(Prim: Eliz.)* Edward's book was revived, *with one alteration or addition of certain Leſſons to be uſed on every Sunday in the year;* meaning the proper Leſſons then firſt appointed for Sundays. But that, when a Sunday and a Saint's Day coincide, the Sunday Leſſon was intended to ſuperſede the Leſſon appertaining to the Saint's Day, I have no where been able to diſcover.

Of the Second Lessons.

The Second Leſſon at Morning and Evening Prayer is uniformly taken out of the New Teſtament. The Leſſons of the New Teſtament are in general all of them every where proper*. When every

* It has already been remarked of the writings of Saint Paul, that, had they primarily been deſigned for the age in which we live, it is not eaſy to conceive how they could have afforded us much more general inſtruction. Yet ſmall parts of one or two of them might be diſmiſſed from the calendar, without detriment to religion. In 1 Cor. c. vii. he adviſes the members of the church of Corinth to refrain from marriage, upon the principle, that in thoſe days, wives and families might have obſtructed the ſpreading of the Goſpel. The laſt chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans, was no doubt highly intereſting to the perſons there mentioned, and to the church at Rome in general. But, as it contains comparatively little beyond

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every part is highly intereſting and inſtructive, a ſelection of Leſſons muſt be unneceſſary. The church therefore on all the Sundays of the year, (except four, the Sunday before Eaſter, Eaſter-day, Whitſunday, and Trinity Sunday, which have proper Second Leſſons) adopts the ſame method that ſhe purſues on ordinary days.

Proper ſecond Leſſons are appointed for ſomewhat the greater number of the Holidays. But theſe Leſſons, which either relate the circumſtances, or apply the example, which gave occaſion to the feſtival, are not numerous; and they ſeldom interrupt, except for the day, the orderly courſe of reading the New Teſtament. For all feſtivals that are fixed, and immoveable; and have *proper ſecond* Leſſons appointed, have no ſecond Leſſon aſſigned to them in the *calendar*.

In the morning we read the Goſpels, and the Acts of the Apoſtles, and in the evening the Epiſtles. We begin the year with the firſt of Matthew, and the firſt of Romans, ſo that excluſive of the Epiſtles and Goſpels uſed in the communion ſervice, the New Teſtament * is read over orderly three times a year in our daily Common Prayer.

a liſt of names, it cannot be very inſtructive to a modern congregation of Chriſtians. *Memorand. of Dr. Wheeler's Lectures at Oxon.*

* Excepting the greater part of the book of Revelation, of which, on account of its myſterious obſcurity, three chapters only are read in the church, 1, 19, and 22.

APO-

APOCRYPHAL LESSONS.

From the curſory inveſtigation that was made into the contents of the chapters of the Old Teſtament, which are omitted in the calendar, we have ſeen that once a year, our church reads in her daily ſervice the whole, or nearly the whole of the canonical Scripture, that is calculated to edify a mixed congregation. To ſupply what is wanting to complete the year, we read a part of Scripture which we acknowledge not to be canonical, out of the Apocrypha, or Apocryphal Books. Though this regulation has been repeatedly objected to by thoſe who diſſent from us, yet much may be ſaid in its defence *.

The method taken by the church has not the remoteſt tendency to abate that peculiar veneration which is due to the canonical books. In her articles ſhe explicitly declares the diſtinction that is to be made between Apocryphal and Canonical Scripture; and no Apocryphal Leſſon is appointed

* On this ſubject the Engliſh reader may conſult with advantage Hooker's Ecc. Polity, b. v., with Bp. Hoadley's reaſonableneſs of conformity, and his defence. Some defenders of the ritual of the church have apologized for the occaſional uſe of Apocryphal Leſſons, by obſerving that they are admitted into the calendar only on ſome ordinary days in harveſt time, when our congregations are thinneſt. This argument, if true, is at beſt but a paltry ſubterfuge, which reflects little honour upon the memory of our reformers, and entails to us the imputation of a defect. It is noticed here only becauſe it is too *popular*.

to

to be read in the ſervice for Sundays. Again, many of the Apocryphal chapters are better calculated to inform the mind, and to excite devotion, in a popular congregation, than ſome of the canonical chapters, which, becauſe they are leſs important to Chriſtians, or leſs intelligible to perſons of ordinary capacities, are omitted in the calendar.

By the ancients, theſe were ſometimes ſtyled *eccleſiaſtical* books, having been compiled, and publiſhed for the edification of the pious, and being commonly read in the church. Sometimes they were called *Apocryphal*, and ſometimes *Canonical* Scripture. But the former term, when applied to theſe writings, is to be underſtood, not as declaring them to be ſpurious; and the latter muſt be taken, not in its ſtrict and technical, but in a lax extended ſenſe, for their beſt advocates allow them no authority in matters of faith *.

That

* Απόκρυφος ſignifies *hidden, ſecret.* Whether theſe books were called *Apocryphal*, from the writers of them being unknown, from the authority of the books being uncertain, or from their not being read in all places in public, and being thus, as it were, *concealed*, or for any of theſe reaſons, is not, I apprehend, determined.—— Ruffinus (in Expoſ. Symb.) diſtinguiſhes between Canonical, Eccleſiaſtical, and Apocryphal books. He calls thoſe Eccleſiaſtical, which, as well as the Canonical, are read in the church, but are not produced to eſtabliſh any article of faith. By Apocryphal he and others mean thoſe which were ſpurious, or compoſed by heretics, and were not to be read by Chriſtians. Others mention only Cano-

That they were read in the ancient weſtern church, as works of religious and moral inſtruction, Jerom, and his antagoniſt Ruffinus, with Athanaſius, Auſtin, and others teſtify. In the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, (or the order of leſſons in the Gallican church) a work of great antiquity, Leſſons are appointed out of the Apocryphal books; from whence the practice was probably introduced into Britain.

With the words of the church of England, whom we ſhall generally find to be the ableſt apologiſt for her own regulations, and who muſt be admitted to be the beſt judge, and is certainly the propereſt interpreter of her own intentions, I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay on the ſubject of Apocryphal Leſſons.—Beſides the canonical books

Canonical and Apocryphal books; ſome mean by the latter term, human compoſitions proper to be read for public inſtruction. Others apply the word *Apocryphal* as Ruffinus did, to dangerous forgeries and heretical productions. In this ſenſe the ancients are commonly to be underſtood, when they ſay that Apocryphal (i. e. ſpurious and heretical) books are not to be read.

The third council of Carthage (A. D. 397) calls Wiſdom Eccleſiaſticus, &c., *Canonical* Scripture. Auſtin, and other writers of the Weſt, do the ſame. But few of them meant *Canonical* to be underſtood in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the term. The books were *Canonical*, or *regular*, ſo far as they were read, for the edification of the people; but they were not eſteemed to be of *Canonical* authority in adjuſting articles of faith. See Bingham, b. xiv: and Suicerus, words ἀποκρυφος, γραφη, and the reſpective titles of the Apocryphal books.

"the

" the other books, as Jerom * ſaith, the church " doth read, for example of life, and inſtruction " of manners; but yet doth not apply them to " eſtabliſh any doctrine." Artic. vi.

HYMNS AFTER THE FIRST LESSON.

In the circle of Chriſtian duties, there is none more delightful, none more generally neceſſary †, than that of praiſe. As God in every thing ſhews mercy, ſo muſt we " in every thing give thanks, " (1 Theſſ. v. 18.) teaching and admoniſhing one " another in pſalms and hymns and ſpiritual ſongs, " ſinging with grace in our hearts unto the Lord," (Col. iii. 16.) Hymns of praiſe are peculiarly be-

* The words that are in the article, Biſhop Burnet, in his expoſition of the vith article, ſays, are repeated by Jerom in ſeveral of his prefaces; but he cites no place where they occur. The paſſage to which the compilers of the article appear to refer, is the following—Sicut ergo Judith, & Tobi, & Machabæorum libros legit quidem eccleſia, ſed inter canonicas ſcripturas non recipit, ſic & hæc duo volumina, (meaning the book of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach, or Eccleſiaſticus, and the Wiſdom of Solomon, which he had mentioned before, and here refers to) *legat* (ſome copies read *legit)* ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem eccleſiaſticorum dogmatum confirmandam.—Præf. Hieron. ad Lib. Salom.—Ed. Benedict. Tom. I. p. 938, 9.

† Concordat *omnium* ſenſus, ut non deſinamus circa Dei laudes, ſive hymnum dicendo, ſive divinam per omnia momenta gloriam concinendo. Amb. in Pſ. xliii.

coming in the houſe of God: and from the days of our Saviour and his Apoſtles to the preſent times, the recitation of ſongs of thankſgiving has ever conſtituted one principal part of the public worſhip *.

Beſides the pſalms, and the ſacred writings, hymns of human compoſition were admitted into the public ſervice†. Such, in all probability, was

* Concerning the uſe of pſalms and hymns in the church, we have, ſays Auſtin, the examples and precepts of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. (Ep. cxix.) Chryſoſtom obſerves on Matt. xxvi. 30, that Chriſt and the Apoſtles ſung a hymn, to teach us to do the ſame.

† Philo teſtifies that it was cuſtomary among the Chriſtians to compoſe hymns, and to ſing them in the church. (Lib. de ſup. Virt.) Ambroſe, Hilary, and others, compoſed various hymns, which were recited in the ſervice of the church, and though Auſtin objects to ſome of the hymns of the *Donatiſts*, and their improper manner of reciting them, yet he himſelf compiled for the uſe of the common people a pſalm of many parts, in ſome reſpects reſembling the cxix. When afterwards in Spain, ſome objected againſt the practice of admitting hymns of human compoſition, the fourth council of Toledo (held A. D. 633) confirmed the eſtabliſhed uſage, maintaining that the innovators might as reaſonably refuſe to admit *Gloria Patri* as theſe hymns; and threatening with excommunication, all who ſhould dare to reject the hymns appointed. The council of Laodicea (held A. D. 361) forbids the uſe of *private hymns*, (ἰδιωτικοὶ) that is, ſuch as were heterodox, apocryphal, or not admitted by competent authority. In this prohibition the church of England joins, whatever they may think who introduce into the public ſervice, ſuch hymns, and poetical compoſitions, as are truly exceptionable for other reaſons, beſide their not being recogniſed in the book of Common Prayer. Several and valuable collections of pſalms and hymns have been made, but a complete ſelection for general uſe, is, perhaps, a *deſideratum*.

the

the hymn, which a Roman hiſtorian and inquiſitor informs us, the Chriſtians of the firſt ages, "in their antelucan aſſemblies, addreſſed to Chriſt as God *."

From ancient canons and authentic records it appears, that hymns were intermingled with the other parts of the ſervice, and in particular, that after the reading of a portion of the Old and New Teſtament, a pſalm or hymn was uſually ſung. Now this is the very order which the church of England obſerves in her ſervice. Both in her Morning and Evening Prayer, ſhe appoints a hymn to be uſed after the firſt Leſſon, and another after the ſecond.

By this grateful variety the mind of the devout worſhipper is ſecured againſt diſtraction, relieved from languor, and enabled to proceed with attention and fervour. We have additional, and even ſtronger reaſons, for admiring the arrangement made by our church. Though it be admitted, that the table of Leſſons in the calendar, as well as thoſe for the Sundays and Holidays, may in ſome few inſtances be capable of emendation, yet we aſk, what chapter is there of Holy Scripture, at preſent appointed for a Leſſon, which does not exhibit ſome reaſon for thankſgiving and praiſe? Whether it inſtructs, or reproves, whether it exhorts to duty, or diſſuades from ſin, whether

* Quod ſoliti eſſent, ſtato die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere ſecum invicem. (Plin. l. x. Ep. 97.)

it conſiſts of threats and promiſes, whether it furniſhes precepts or examples, it is with propriety ſucceeded by a hymn of praiſe.

After the firſt Leſſon the church of England has ſupplied her members with two admirable hymns, the choice of which is left to the diſcretion of the miniſter. The firſt of theſe is called,

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS,

from the three initial words of the Latin *, in

* Should another reviſal of our Liturgy ever take place, it may then probably be thought expedient to expunge all Latin words from the Rubrics, and all Latin titles of pſalms and hymns. Our reformers might have good reaſons for originally retaining the *Latin* appellations, *Venite Exultemus*, *Te Deum Laudamus*, &c. Theſe ſhewed that the ſervice in Engliſh was not entirely a new ſervice; but, in the language of Edward's meſſage to the Devonſhire rebels in 1549, "the ſelf ſame words in *Engliſh*, which were in *Latin*; "ſaving a few things taken out, ſo fond, that it had been a ſhame "to have heard them in Engliſh, as all they can judge, which liſt "to report the truth. If the ſervice was good in Latin, it re-"maineth good in Engliſh. As for the ſervice in the *Engliſh* "tongue, there is manifeſt reaſon for it."—But theſe reaſons for retaining *Latin* names have long ceaſed to exiſt. The hymn beginning, *We praiſe thee, O Lord*, would convey to the greater part of our people the idea of the hymn before us, better than the hymn called, *Te Deum Laudamus*. Should not the names and titles of each particular part of the ſervice, like the whole ſervice itſelf, be expreſſed in our own language? If, from what our reformers did, we may judge what they would have done, had they lived in the xviiith century, muſt we not conclude, that every appendage of the Common Prayer of the church of England would have now appeared in Engliſh?

which

which language it was originally compoſed. In Engliſh they are tranſlated, *We praiſe thee, O God.*

Though the ſuperior excellence of this hymn is indiſputable, yet it muſt be acknowledged, that on few ſubjects have the ſentiments of the learned been more divided than on this queſtion, By whom was the hymn compoſed?

The moſt ancient opinion, and that which *has been* the moſt univerſally received, is, that it was the joint production of Ambroſe and Auſtin. The circumſtances of its extraordinary origin are thus related. At the baptiſm of the celebrated convert, Auſtin, which office was performed by Ambroſe in the preſence of all the faithful in the city, after the ceremony, and before their aſcent out of the water, Ambroſe uttered the firſt verſicle of *Te Deum*, ſaying, *We praiſe thee, O God.* Auſtin immediately replied, *We acknowledge thee to be the Lord.* Ambroſe proceeded, *All the earth doth worſhip thee, the Father everlaſting.* Auſtin rejoined, *To thee all angels cry aloud*, &c. &c. And in this manner, whilſt they remained ſtanding in the waters of baptiſm, Ambroſe and Auſtin miraculouſly compoſed, and alternately ſung the whole hymn, as the ſpirit gave them utterance.

However incredible this account may appear, it is gravely repeated by Durandus * and others,

Durandus probably adopted it from *the Chronicle of Datius*, a work purporting to be the production of Datius, one of the ſuc-

others, and was for many ages implicitly received. It is here noticed, merely for the purpose of shewing that the ancient and present division of the sentences of Te Deum do not exactly correspond, and of pointing out where the difference lies.

This hymn has likewise been ascribed to Ambrose alone, to Hilary, and to Jerom.—That it was not the production of Hilary, or Jerom, is now universally admitted. And they who attribute it to Ambrose, if they do not found their opinion, at least rest their proof upon the evidence of the Acts of a council *, which however are not conclusive on the point. The words of the council simply state a fact, generally known, that Ambrose and Hilary composed hymns, which were recited in the church. Of this particular hymn no mention is made; and if there had, the hymn might still be as fairly ascribed to Hilary as to Ambrose.

cessors of Ambrose, in the See of Milan. This Chronicle, as Menardus has shewn, contradicts the authentic writings of Austin, and Possidonius: and by Mabillon it has been proved to be a spurious publication, fabricated 500 years after the death of its pretended author. The learned men of Milan deny, says *Gavantus*, that there is any such thing as a Chronicle of Datius among them; and to Mabillon's enquiries about it, they answered that the book with this title was written by other authors. V. Menard., Mabill. Analecta Vet., and Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit.——*Durandus* was one of the latest of the more celebrated scholastic divines; he flourished at Paris, about the year 1320, and was surnamed *Doctor Resolutissimus, the most resolving Doctor.*

Con. Tol. 4. A. D. 633.

The

The Pariſian editors of the works of Ambroſe, printed in 1549, perſiſt in the ancient opinion, for which they give us, in the place of argument, a confident aſſertion*; but the more judicious Benedictine editors acknowledge, that Ambroſe was not the author of the hymn in queſtion.

Whoever will compare Te Deum with the hymns admitted to be Ambroſe's will, in my opinion, find himſelf in poſſeſſion of ſtrong internal evidence, that it was not compoſed by the author of them.

The ſtructure of Ambroſe's ſentences, the regular meaſure of his verſe, and the uniform period recurring at the end of every fourt line, exhibit ſpecimens of compoſition, all widely different from that of Te Deum. The moſt general meaſure of the hymns of Ambroſe is the Iambic-tetrameter †. But Te Deum is not compoſed in verſe, neither is the original proſe remarkable for

* Pro cataſtrophe totius texturæ operum viſum eſt ſubnectere canticam illud επινικιον, Te Deum Laudamus, *quid velint, nolint noſtræ iſtius ætatis academici* (alluding to the opinion of the great Eraſmus) *alternis cecinere Ambroſius et Auguſtinus.*—Elenchus following the title page, Tom. I.

† Ambroſiani eo maxime currunt—(*Bede* de re metrica, prefixed to Hymn. Eccles. by Caſſander.) Among the Ambroſian hymns, ſays Stillingfleet, Te Deum is not reckoned by Caſſander, neither is it of Ambroſian compoſition. (Orig. Brit. c. iv.) The hymns of Ambroſe were ſo celebrated, that eccleſiaſtical hymns in general were called *Ambroſiani.*

its melody, though the ſtructure of the ſentences may be well adapted for chanting.

The ſtyle of the hymns attributed to Ambroſe is certainly pretty. They poſſeſs ſomething of Ovid's neatneſs and fancy; but have likewiſe too often Ovid's fault of quaintneſs and conceit.—The language of Te Deum is ſimple and majeſtic. In it we recogniſe the ſublimeſt paſſages of the Prophet Iſaiah, the grandeſt truths of the Goſpel hiſtory, and the moſt pathetic ſupplications that are to be found in the Book of Pſalms.

In two ancient manuſcripts, an old collection of hymns and an old pſalter, Arch-biſhop Uſher* found Te Deum aſcribed to Nicetus, Biſhop of Treves, who, as Stillingfleet†, Cave‡, and the learned in general, think, compoſed this hymn for the uſe of the Gallican church. He flouriſhed about A. D. 540, nearly 100 years after the death of Ambroſe§. From this period Te Deum is often mentioned, and the uſe of it is repeatedly preſcribed. But before this era, it is confidently affirmed that the hymn was not noticed by any

* Uſſer de Symb. p. 3. † Orig. Brit. c. 4.

‡ Ambroſii eſſe nullo idoneo teſtimonio probari poteſt, et *fabulam* pro origine habere videtur. Hiſt. Lit. Vol. I. in Vit. Ambros.

§ He was made Biſhop of Treves 527, and died in 568, having been preſent at four Gallican councils.

writer

writer of credit *: This affords at leaſt ſtrong preſumptive evidence, that it was not extant in the time of Ambroſe.

Whoever was the author of Te Deum, its excellence is ſurpaſſed by no human compoſition. Indeed the compoſition alone is human, the materials are of divine original.—Ever ſince its introduction into the offices of the church, which took place in the ſixth century, it has deſervedly been held in the higheſt eſtimation. And the venerable compilers of our Liturgy have with great propriety retained this hymn in the daily Morning ſervice †.

* Menard. in Greg. Sac. & Stilling. Orig. Brit. c. iv.

† It was the complaint of Dr. Bennet, and is ſtill to be lamented, that in the uſe of this hymn many are exceedingly careleſs. Some repeat it with ſo little attention and zeal, that they ſeem neither to regard what they ſay, nor to conſider to whom the hymn is addreſſed. The language, he obſerves, is wonderfully ſublime and affectionate, and we cannot utter any thing more pious and heavenly. Let our ſouls be warmed with correſpondent affections. Let us mentally ſpeak the verſicles, which we do not pronounce with our lips, and make the whole hymn one continued act of ardent and intenſe devotion.—And let me entreat, continues Dr. B. my brethren of the clergy not to begin this hymn too haſtily. After they have ſaid, *here ends the firſt Leſſon*, let them make a ſmall pauſe, till the people have time to riſe from their ſeats, and compoſe themſelves for the recitation of this ſolemn hymn; that they may not be hurried and diſordered, but may leiſurely attend the miniſter's beginning it, and be ready themſelves to begin it with him. After each of the Leſſons both in Morning and Evening ſervice, the ſame method ſhould be obſerved, before the beginning of any other hymn, or pſalm. *Paraphraſe on the Common Prayer.*

Of

Of the various excellences of Te Deum, its methodical compoſition is not the leaſt conſiderable. It is divided into three parts, each in its *original* form, compoſed of ten verſicles. In its preſent ſtate it is obſervable, that there is an odd verſicle, and that the firſt part conſiſts only of nine; for the verſicles which were formerly the firſt and ſecond, have ſince been united into one*.

The firſt part is an act of praiſe, or an amplified Doxology.

The ſecond, a confeſſion of the leading articles of the Chriſtian faith.

The third contains interceſſions for the whole church, and ſupplications for ourſelves.

The nine introductory verſicles, which anciently were ten, are entirely euchariſtical, conſiſting of praiſe. Having heard the promiſes, or threats of the Almighty, and perſuaded by the precepts, or warned by the examples, contained in the firſt Leſſon, we begin this hymn with praiſing the inſpirer of the ſacred volume from which the Leſſon is extracted.

1. We firſt expreſs our gratitude to God, and acknowledge his ſupreme authority over all his creatures. 2. To heighten our devotion, we turn our eyes towards the rational part of his creation upon earth, who in general we preſume, as well as

* See page 197 of this Volume.

ourſelves,

ourſelves, daily perform this ſolemn duty. 3. We then direct our attention to the inhabitants of Heaven, one principal part of whoſe employment, and one chief ſource of whoſe happineſs, we are taught to believe, is to glorify God's holy name. 4. This hymn not only opens to us a view of Heaven, but with the evangelical prophet (Iſa. vi. 3.) and beloved diſciple (Rev. iv. 8.) it carries us thither, to behold the various orders of angels, cherubim, ſeraphim, and all the heavenly powers. 5. In honor of the glorious trinity, they continually ſing, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, the "whole earth is full of thy glory:" In which divine hymn they acknowledge God to be Jehovah-Sabaoth *, or the original author and abſolute governor of all powers both in heaven and earth— 6, 7, 8, 9. The hymn proceeds to invite us to join with the angelic Hoſt, with the prophets, apoſ-

* *Sabaoth* is the plural number of a Hebrew word, and ſignifies armies, or hoſts, as it is commonly rendered in the tranſlation of the Bible. To this term, which here remains untranſlated, it is to be feared the greater number in our congregations, affix either no idea, or an erroneous one. In the recitation of Te Deum, I have formerly often heard it pronounced exactly as we pronounce the word *Sabbath*. It is certain that, at an *advanced* period of life, the maſter of one of the firſt free grammar ſchools in the northern counties, a graduate of Oxford, and a man of conſiderable learning, acknowledged that he had *lately* diſcovered, that *Sabaoth* in Te Deum was a word of different ſignification from the *Sabbath* of the Jews. Though the fact is queſtionable, and, as I ſuſpect, not true, yet the report has been current, that the author of the Engliſh Dictionary was, for ſeveral years, not exempt from the ſame miſtake.

tles,

tles, and martyrs, in praiſes to God now, as we expect to be united with them in glory hereafter.

The ten following verſicles, which compoſe the ſecond part of the hymn, are a confeſſion of faith, each article of which contains an additional motive to praiſe God.

The Angels and glorified ſpirits ſee God face to face. As we behold his glory only by the eye of faith, we cannot better ſet forth his praiſe, than by giving our unfeigned aſſent to his revelation, and by profeſſing our faith in him, whom the Hoſt of Heaven worſhip and adore. 10. As members of the holy Catholic church, we acknowledge the ever-bleſſed Trinity, 11. the infinite majeſty of the Father, 12. the honor due to his only begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour, 13. and the divinity and perſonality of the Holy Ghoſt, our advocate in Heaven, our comforter on earth. 14. More eſpecially we addreſs ourſelves to our Redeemer, and as he is very God of very God, we acknowledge him to be the King of glory, a title appropriated to the Lord of Hoſts alone. 15. We declare, that he is the everlaſting Son of the Father, not created as angels, nor adopted as men, but by eternal generation * begotten of the Father, with whom he is coeternal and coequal. 16. The hymn proceeds to celebrate his mercies, and with

* The ingenious arguments of Mr. Hawtrey have not convinced me that the ΛΟΓΟΣ was not ΥΙΟΣ, prior to his incarnation.

joy

joy and thankfulneſs delares that, when he undertook to deliver us from death eternal, and to accompliſh our redemption, he diſdained not to be conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, to partake of the ſame nature, and to become ſubject to the ſame infirmities with ourſelves. 17. Being thus God and man, he ſubmitted to the cruel death of the croſs, and by dying for us overcame death, and diſarmed it of the ſharpneſs of its ſting. By his meritorious ſufferings he has procured for all true believers, admiſſion into the kingdom of Heaven, from which they were excluded by their own ſins, as well as through the tranſgreſſion of their primitive father. 18. Our bleſſed Redeemer, as the reward of his obedience, ſits on the right hand of God. He has already, in his human nature, taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom of glory in the name of all his faithful followers, and diſpenſes it to all that believe in him. 19. From this height of glory, we believe, that he, the man Jeſus Chriſt, will come to be our judge; and if we honeſtly endeavour to conform our lives to his Goſpel, our very judge, who is now our mediator and interceſſor, will be our advocate and friend.

20. Here our thankſgiving and confeſſion of faith are naturally turned into prayer.—Having contemplated the Saviour of the world, in his eternal glory, and in his ſtate of humiliation and exhaltation, we intercede for all the people of God, imploring internal aſſiſtance, and everlaſting ſal-

vation: We beſeech him to help them with his grace, and to enable them to perform their duty upon earth, and, 21. finally by his infinite mercy, to admit them to be numbered with thoſe departed Saints, whom he has already received into his reſt, and will reward with his glory. 22. That we may be aſſured of obtaining this heavenly inheritance, we entreat him to ſave his people from all evil, and bleſs his peculiar heritage, the Chriſtian church. 23. We beſeech the ſhepherd of our ſouls to guide and direct us, whenever we err and ſtray, and when we ſtumble, and are liable to fall, to lift us up, to ſtrengthen and ſupport us againſt our ſpiritual adverſaries.—24. This protection and ſupport for ourſelves and others, we ſolicit with humble confidence, becauſe agreeably to God's will and our duty, we daily magnify his name in hymns, and, 25. worſhip him conſtantly in our prayers. 26. Senſible of our own infirmities, and aſſured that praiſe is not acceptable from the lips of ſinners, we pray that we may be kept this day from committing ſin; that temptation may neither deprive us of the benefit of our preſent devotions, nor indiſpoſe us for the return of duty on the following morn. 27. We know, that our tranſgreſſions are numerous and grievous. We therefore beſeech Chriſt not only to preſerve us from falling into ſin, but alſo to forgive our paſt offences. We beſeech him to look on our frailty and ſtrengthen us; on our guilt

and

and pardon us. We therefore reiterate our fervent petition, have mercy upon us. 28. Unleſs we find mercy for our paſt ſins, we muſt be condemned, and except we obtain the grace of future aſſiſtance, we ſhall be overcome by our ſpiritual adverſaries: we therefore pray the third time, that his mercy may lighten or fall upon us, and that it may comfort and invigorate us. Here we plead not our merits, but our diſtreſs. On ourſelves and all ſublunary power we renounce dependance. Our confidence and truſt we place only in his mercy and truth. 29. He who is faithful and juſt has promiſed, that he will ſave thoſe who put their truſt in him. We therefore conclude this hymn in the words of the Pſalmiſt, expreſſing our hope, that we are in the number of thoſe that truſt in him, and our confidence that we ſhall not eventually be aſhamed, confounded, or diſappointed of our hope.

It has been aſked why *Gloria Patri*, the Doxology ſo often repeated by the church of England, is not apointed to be ſaid after this hymn? We reply, that the hymn itſelf is an amplified Doxology.

BENEDICITE.

The ſecond hymn after the firſt Leſſon is called the

the canticle, *Benedicite, omnia opera Domini Domino*, from the words with which it begins in Latin. In Engliſh we ſhould ſay the canticle, or ſong, *O all ye works of the Lord, bleſs ye the Lord.* It is alſo called *the ſong of the three children in the burning fiery furnace* *. This hymn the early Chriſtians, in all probability, adopted from the Jewiſh church. From Cyprian † and Ruffinus ‡ it appears, that the hymn of the three children was generally ſung by confeſſors, martyrs, and all members of the Chriſtian communion. This hymn is found in the Apocryphal part of Daniel, yet Ruffinus maintains againſt Jerom, that it is a portion of Holy Writ. St. Cyprian calls it divine Scripture. Theodoret explains it in his comment on Daniel. Athanaſius § recommends it in private devotion, and the fourth council of Toledo ‖ enjoined it to be uſed in the Spaniſh churches, alledging as a reaſon, that it was ſung all over the world. St. Chryſoſtom ¶ had before made the ſame obſervation, deſcribing this as a hymn every where ſung throughout the world, and which would continue to be ſung by lateſt poſterity. In

* See Apocrypha.

† Cyp. de Orat. Dom.

‡ Ruff. Invect. in Hieron.

§ Athan. de Virg. vel.

‖ Hymnum in quo univerſa cœli, terræque creatura Deum collaudat, et quem eccleſia Catholica per totum orbem diffuſa celebrat, &c. C. 13.

¶ Ὠδὴν παταχου της οικουμενης αδομενην, και ασφησομενην εις τας μετα ταυτα γενεας.

The

the Gallic Lectionary *, it is appointed to be ſung after the reading of the Prophets, much in the ſame manner, as it is here ordered to be ſaid or ſung after the reading of the firſt Leſſon. Though by our church it is not admitted to be either an inſpired compoſition, or canonical Scripture, yet it is a very pious, as well as ancient form of praiſe, and well adapted to the purpoſes of devotion.

The objections made to this hymn, that we addreſs angels, and holy men, and even the inanimate parts of the creation, are frivolous and groundleſs. Every perſon, in the ſmalleſt degree conversant with the inſpired writings, knows, that in them, and particularly in the Pſalms, ſuch apoſtrophes frequently occur. And this very hymn is little more than a paraphraſe, or amplification of the 148th Pſalm, with which it correſponds in ſubſtance, and nearly in terms. In both compoſitions all creatures, in the inviſible and viſible world, are called upon to unite in one general chorus of praiſe to their Almighty Creator.

As this hymn is ſufficiently plain, and ſeldom repeated in the public ſervice, more particular expoſition is unneceſſary. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that where the firſt Leſſon treats of the creation, or any extraordinary exerciſe of God's power or providence, Benedicite might with propriety and advantage be adopted in the place of Te Deum.

* Mabillon de Lit. Gall. Lib. II.

In the firſt book of Edward VI. *Te Deum* is appointed to be "read in Engliſh daily throughout "the year, except in Lent, during all which time "in its place ſhall be uſed, *Benedicite omnia opera "Domini Domino*, in Engliſh." This Rubric was altered in the ſecond book, and the choice has ever ſince been left to the diſcretion of the miniſter.

HYMNS AFTER THE SECOND LESSON.

After the Second Leſſon at Morning Prayer, the church has alſo provided two hymns, the choice of either of which is, as before, left to the miniſter. The former is entitled

BENEDICITUS,

becauſe, in the Latin verſion, it begins with that word. Did we uſe Engliſh terms, we ſhould call it the hymn, beginning *Bleſſed be the Lord God*. Zacharias, at the circumciſion of his ſon, John the Baptiſt, "was filled with the Holy Ghoſt and "propheſyed," expreſſing himſelf in the words of this hymn, (Luke i. 67.) For the redemption of the world by the incarnation of the Son of God, of whom John was the fore-runner, it breathes the warmeſt language of gratitude and praiſe. It is therefore properly placed after the Second Leſſon, which being always ſelected either from the Goſpels or the Acts of the Apoſtles, neceſſarily exhibits ſome portion of the hiſtory of our redemption. The angel, who firſt publiſhed the

the good tidings of great joy to all people, was ſuddenly joined by "a multitude of the heavenly "hoſt praiſing God, and ſaying, Glory be to God "on high, and on earth peace, good will towards "men." Thus, when the miniſter has recited a part of theſe good tidings from the Goſpel, we receive them with joy and thankfulneſs, and unite with him in praiſing God. We adopt the words of Zacharias and ſay, "Bleſſed be the Lord God "of Iſrael, for he hath viſited and redeemed his "people."

The whole of the hymn, however, having been uttered upon a peculiar occaſion, and under extraordinary circumſtances, and the latter part being addreſſed to the infant baptiſt in particular, and referring ſolely to his immediate office, it may be fairly conſidered as leſs adapted to general uſe than ſome others, and on this account probably, it is ſeldom read after the Second Leſſon. In its place therefore with the greateſt propriety, we generally uſe the hundredth pſalm, called

JUBILATE DEO,

from its initial words in the Latin verſion, or in Engliſh, "O be joyful in the Lord." Its Hebrew title is, *A Song of Praiſe.* It is ſaid to have been compoſed by David upon occaſion of a public thankſgiving, and was ſung by the Jewiſh church at the oblation of the peace-offering, as the prieſt was entering into the temple. And immediately after hearing the Goſpel of peace, it is a form of

praiſe perfectly ſuitable to every Chriſtian aſſembly. For the divine attributes here celebrated, gracious goodneſs, everlaſting mercy, never-failing truth, and parental care, are in the Goſpel moſt fully diſplayed.

This hymn was firſt added to our Morning Prayer in the Second Book of Edward VI.

THE CREED,

COMMONLY CALLED THE APOSTLES' CREED.

This Creed is a ſummary of articles of faith, expreſſing conciſely and comprehenſively the doctrines held to be eſſentially neceſſary to everlaſting ſalvation.

The Holy Scripture, being the revelation of divine truth, and containing every thing neceſſary for a Chriſtian to believe, may in a more extended ſenſe be called our Creed. But ſince the Scriptures, beſides the fundamental doctrines of Chriſtianity, comprehend alſo a great variety of truths of leſs importance, it became expedient for the church to frame a compendium of the articles of indiſpenſable belief, which might be readily learned, eaſily underſtood, and effectually retained by each of its members.

To theſe articles of our belief we give the name of *Creed*, a term derived from the Latin word *credo*, (in Engliſh, *I believe*) which is the firſt that occurs in this confeſſion of faith in that language.

In

In the Eaſtern church, theſe articles were often called Κανων, the Canon, which anſwers to the Latin, *Regula Fidei*, or Rule of Faith, the Creed being that rule and ſtandard by which orthodoxy and hereſy were tried and diſcriminated. But the moſt common name of the Creed was (συμβολον,) ſymbolum *, which is derived from the theme συμβαλλω, to put together, to compoſe. For the uſe of this word, as applied to the Creed, various reaſons have been aſſigned. 1. Some ſay it was ſo called from its being a collection or epitome of Chriſtian doctrines †. 2. Others have ſuppoſed it to be called *ſymbolum*, from each of the apoſtles caſting in his *ſymbola*, his article, or ſhare, towards the compoſition of the whole. But this ſuppoſition appears to be without foundation. Beſides, συμβολον is here confounded with συμβολη, that is, *ſymbolum* with *ſymbola*. The ſhare contributed by each was *ſymbola*; but the Creed is never called *ſymbola*, but always *ſymbolum*. 3. The author of "the Hiſtory of the Creed ‡" has given a much

* *Voſſius* thinks that in the three firſt centuries the Chriſtians did not uſe the term, *ſymbol* of the faith, but called their Creed a confeſſion, expoſition, or rule of faith. And *Dupin* (Biblioth. Pat. Eccl. on the Creed) affirms that *Cyprian* (Ep. 45) was the firſt that applied the word *ſymbolum* to denote an epitome, or conciſe confeſſion of Chriſtian belief.

† Symbolum eſt omnium credendorum ad ſalutem ſpectantium compendioſa collectio. (Gerſon). *Symbolum* Græce, Latine *collatio* dicitur. (Ita legitur, ſays Suicerus, ap. *Clementem Romanum*, ſive alium Ep. 1.)

‡ Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor.

leſs reſpectable account of the origin of the term *ſymbolum*, alleging that it was adopted by the early Chriſtians, from its having been the badge of diſtinction, by which the initiated were admitted to ſome of the ſecret, and moſt licentious heathen rites. 4. Others ſuppoſe the Creed to have taken the name ſymbolum from the military oath or contract, which the ſoldiers made with the emperors, when they entered into their ſervice. The Creed, they ſay, is a token of the covenant, or contract, which Chriſtians make with God at their baptiſm. In proof of this they allege the teſtimony of Ambroſe, who calls the Creed the *ſacrament of our warfare* *, the oath taken by ſoldiers to be true and faithful to their ſovereign: and of Chryſologus, who affirms, that a covenant or contract, made with a view to preſent or future advantage, was, both in human and divine engagements, called ſymbolum †. 5. But the opinion moſt commonly received, and indeed moſt probable in itſelf, is that the name ſymbolum was adopted, from its being like the *teſſera militaris* among the Roman ſoldiers, the mark and character by which true believers were diſtinguiſhed from heretics, as well as infidels.------Some of the

* Symbolum cordis ſignaculum et noſtræ militiæ ſacramentum. Amb. de Virg. vel. lib. 3.

† Placitum vel pactum, quod lucri ſpes *venientis* continet, vel *futuri* ſymbolum nuncupari, contractu etiam docemur humano.—. Intra Deum vero et homines ſymbolum fidei ſola fide firmatur. Chryſol. Hom. 62.

circumciſion, even whilſt the apoſtles were living, pretended to be themſelves diſciples of Chriſt, and, "for the ſake of filthy lucre," went forth to preach, naming indeed the name of Chriſt, but not teaching as the truth is in Jeſus. The Creed was the mark or teſt, by which the true preachers of Chriſtianity and true believers were diſtinguiſhed *.

The Creed uſed in the Morning and Evening Prayer is called the Apoſtles' Creed, not becauſe it was compoſed by them, but becauſe it is agreeable to their doctrines, and might have exiſted in a ſimilar form in times not very remote from theirs. Many perſons, however, are ſtill of opinion, that it was compoſed by the apoſtles themſelves, in the very form of words in which it is now expreſſed. But this opinion is founded upon a fabulous, though ancient, tradition, which ſtates that the apoſtles, after the day of pentecoſt, and before their departure from Jeruſalem to propagate the Goſpel, agreed, in a full aſſembly of the twelve, to ſettle a rule of preaching and of faith, and accordingly compoſed this Creed. Subſequent writers have ventured to relate this ſtory ſtill more minutely, and have acquainted us with

* Symbolum prodat ſi ſit hoſtis, an ſocius. (Ruffin.) Symbolum teſſera eſt, & ſignaculum, quo inter fideles, perfidoſque ſecernitur. *Optatus* calls *heretics*, deſerters of the true *Symbol*, alluding to a military ſignal.

each article introduced by each apoſtle reſpectively. PETER *firſt* ſaid, (our authority proceeds through the channel of the Romiſh church) *I believe in God the Father Almighty;* JOHN added, *maker of heaven and earth;* JAMES, *and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son, our Lord;* ANDREW, *who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary;* PHILIP, *ſuffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried;* THOMAS, *he deſcended into hell* *, &c. Each, in ſhort, thus furniſhing one article, they jointly completed the Creed in its preſent form.

It does not require much ſtrength of argument to overturn a tradition, which, on the very face of it, bears the marks of ſuſpicion, and ſtands ſupported by no reſpectable teſtimony whatever. We have inconteſtable evidence, that ſeveral of the articles ſaid to have been dictated by the apoſtles, were not to be found in this Creed for the firſt four centuries † of the Chriſtian era; which alone ſufficiently demonſtrates, that the Creed was not compoſed by the apoſtles. As a collateral proof, may be adduced the ſilence of St. Luke in the records of the Acts of the Apoſtles with regard to any ſuch compoſition; as well as the ſilence of every eccleſiaſtical writer for the three firſt centuries.

* This account has been *falſely* attributed to Auſtin. See 115th Serm. *De tempore*, ap. Aug.

† See Uſher, Grabe, and Pearſon, upon the deſcent into hell, communion of ſaints, Catholic church, life everlaſting, &c.

During

During this period, the fathers, in their diſputes with the heretics, had frequent occaſion to prove, that the *doctrines of the Creed* are the *doctrines taught by the apoſtles*; but they no where hint, that the Creed itſelf was compoſed by them: an argument which they would naturally have urged; for, ſince both parties admitted the authority of the apoſtles, the proof of this would have terminated the diſpute.

Had one univerſal form been preſcribed by the apoſtles, we may reaſonably conclude, that it would, like the form of prayer dictated by our Lord, have been found in the ſacred writings, and invariably obſerved; and it is conſequently impoſſible to give any rational account for the variety of forms in the ſecond and third centuries, in which it has been remarked, there were *as many Creeds as authors.*

The concluſion which learned men have drawn from theſe reaſons is, that though, with reſpect to doctrine, the Creed is perfectly apoſtolic, the compoſition itſelf is not to be attributed to the apoſtles, nor to any writer of their age *. It muſt be acknowledged, that this Creed, in ancient, as well as in modern times, is commonly ſtyled the Apoſtolic Creed, or the Creed of the Apoſtles. But theſe terms were not always meant particularly to denote the Roman Creed, which we now call

* Together with the writers mentioned in the preceding note. See Voſſius, Suicerus under the article συμβολον, Bull, Dupin, King, and Bingham.

the

the Creed of the Apoſtles; or to exclude the Nicene, the Conſtantinopolitan, and the Creeds of the ancient orthodox fathers and councils, all of which may be called apoſtolic, being forms founded upon the doctrine preached by the Apoſtles. The ordinary Creed of the chuch of Rome obtained the name of the *Apoſtolic Creed*, (ſays the learned and candid writer of the hiſtory of infant baptiſm,*) "for no greater, or other reaſon than this. It was a cuſtom to call thoſe churches, in which any apoſtle had perſonaliy taught, eſpecially if he had reſided there any long time, or had died there, *apoſtolic* churches. Of theſe there were a great many in the Eaſtern parts, Jeruſalem, Corinth, Epheſus, Antioch, &c., but in the Weſtern parts, none but Rome. At Rome St. Paul and St. Peter had lived a conſiderable time, and there they were martyred: ſo that any one that, in the Weſtern parts of the world, ſpoke of the apoſtolic church, was ſuppoſed to mean Rome, that being the only one in theſe parts. Hence their biſhop came to be called the apoſtolic biſhop; their ſee, the apoſtolic ſee; their faith, the apoſtolic faith; and among the reſt, the Creed that they uſed, the apoſtolic Creed."

Thus we ſee that this Creed, though not framed by the apoſtles, may not improperly derive its name from them. It is an excellent epitome of the doctrine they taught, and, as nearly as may

* Wall, Part II. ch. 9.

be,

be, expreſſed in their own words. And though ſome articles were added in latter times, the greater part of it is probably derived from the apoſtolic uſage. For, from what has been ſtated, we muſt not infer, that the apoſtles uſed no Creeds. The fair preſumption is, that they, and the firſt teachers of Chriſtianity, uſed various forms of Creeds, Creeds differing in expreſſion, but agreeing in ſubſtance.

That they uſed ſome Creed in admitting perſons to baptiſm appears from the declaration of Philip, and the confeſſion of the eunuch. And after the deceaſe of the apoſtles, the univerſal practice of their immediate ſucceſſors, and of the church in the early ages, which required an anſwer to each of the queſtions propoſed to the candidates for baptiſm, amounts nearly to a demonſtration, that ſuch was the practice of the apoſtles themſelves.

In Auſtin's time, ſome were diſpoſed not only to exclude from the baptiſmal vow the profeſſion of obedience to "God's holy will and commandments," but to abridge the uſual profeſſion of faith, and to reduce the Creed to this ſingle article, "I believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of "God." In their defence, they pleaded the example of Philip. Auſtin replies, that, though for the ſake of brevity, no other article is expreſsly mentioned in Holy Scripture, yet the words, "Philip baptized him," are to be underſtood as meaning, that all things were fulfilled, which

were

were uſually obſerved in baptiſm *.—And the innovators, it is ſaid, never preſumed to carry their intentions into effect; but continued, as the church always had done, and as our church does, to make interrogatories about other articles, concerning the Holy Ghoſt, the remiſſion of ſins, the reſurrection of the dead, the incarnation of Chriſt, his death upon the croſs, his burial, reſurrection, aſcenſion, and ſeſſion at the right hand of the Father. Theſe articles were thought ſo neceſſary, that the church never omitted them either in clinic baptiſm, (that is, when men were baptized upon a ſick or death-bed) or in infant baptiſm. Where by reaſon of ſickneſs, infirmity, or tender age, they were incapable of anſwering themſelves to each interrogatory, their ſureties or ſponſors anſwered for them. But that the ancients baptized into full and complete Creed, and not into the confeſſion of any ſingle article, is, as the learned in general have thought, an inconteſtable fact †.

* In eo quod ait baptizavit eum Philippus, intelligi voluit impleta eſſe omnia, quæ licet taceantur in ſcripturis, gratia brevitatis, tamen ſerie traditionis ſcimus implenda. Aug. de Fid. et Oper. c. 9.

† See Bingham Ecc. Hiſt. and the authorities there alleged. In an Engliſh Book of Common Prayer *reformed* by the *Socinians*, the only interrogatory, reſpecting articles of faith, is, in infant baptiſm, *Will ye inſtruct A. B. in the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt?* And the following form may be uſed, *I baptize thee into the name of Jeſus Chriſt.* In the miniſtration of baptiſm to ſuch as are of riper years, the interrogatory is, *Do you believe Jeſus of Nazareth to be the Chriſt?*

We

We may further remark, that during the more early periods, the church, in her Creeds, uſed a latitude of expreſſion; and it is not probable that the apoſtles, who, as they were guided by inſpiration, were in doctrinal matters incapable of error, ſhould confine themſelves to one ſingle form of words in baptiſm, any more than the Evangeliſts have done in delivering the general truths of the Goſpel. The fact appears to be, that every principal teacher, and every church, were allowed to expreſs their own ſenſe in their own words. They were at liberty to frame their own Creeds, as they did their Liturgies, provided they kept to the ſubſtance of the faith and doctrine delivered by Chriſt and his apoſtles.

It may perhaps gratify the curioſity of the leſs learned reader, and it will not have a tendency to render him leſs ſatisfied with our eſtabliſhed Creeds, to peruſe a tranſlation of a few of the moſt celebrated Creeds of antiquity. He will not indeed find them arranged in preciſely the ſame method, nor expreſſed in the ſame terms. But they will all contribute to ſupport the obſervations of Irenæus and Tertullian, that "the "canon of truth, that is, the true Catholic faith, "is always conſiſtent with itſelf*; and that there "is

* Irenæus (Lib. i. c. ix. ſect. 4.) calls the Catholic faith, (or the Creed which he delivers) *the rule of truth, which the Chriſtian embraced at his baptiſm, and retains firm and invariable.* Τον κανονα της αληθειας ακλινη εν εαυτω, ον δια του Βαπτισματος ειληφε——. In lib. iii. c. xxiv.

" is but one rule of faith, and this is fixed and unalterable *."

Form of the Creed found in Irenæus.

One of the moſt ancient ſummaries of Chriſtian faith that is now extant, was compoſed by Irenæus, who was the diſciple of Polycarp, the diſciple of St. John. In the firſt of his five books againſt herefies, † he ſays,

" The church diſſeminated throughout all the world, even unto the ends of the earth, received from the apoſtles, and their diſciples, the belief in one God, the Father Almighty maker of Heaven and earth, the ſeas, and all that are therein;"

" And in one Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, who for our ſalvation was incarnate:"

" And in the Holy Ghoſt, who preached by the prophets the diſpenſations of God, and the advents of our beloved Lord Jeſus Chriſt; his being

c. xxiv. ſect. i. he maintains that the faith of the Catholic church has been uniformly one and the ſame.

* Regula autem fidei una omnino eſt, ſola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi ſcilicet in unicum Deum, &c. Tert. de Virg. Vel. c. i.

By this one faith and one rule of faith, Irenæus and Tertullian do not mean any particular form of words preſcribed by public authority, to expreſs the articles of their faith, but the ſubſtance of what the church believed to have been taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

† Cap. x. p. 48. Benedict. Ed.

born

born of a virgin, his ſufferings, reſurrection from the dead, aſcenſion into heaven in the fleſh; and his coming again from heaven in the glory of the Father to gather together in one all things, (Eph. i. 10.) and to raiſe from the dead the fleſh of all mankind, that to Chriſt Jeſus our Lord God, Saviour, and King, according to the good pleaſure of the inviſible Father, every knee may bow, both of things in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth, (Phil. ii. 10. 11.) and that every tongue may confeſs to him, and that he may exerciſe righteous judgment upon all, conſigning to everlaſting fire all ſpiritual wickedneſs, both the angels who tranſgreſſed, and became apoſtates, and ungodly, unjuſt, lawleſs, and blaſphemous men; and beſtow life upon all thoſe that are juſt and holy, that have kept his commandments and abide in his love, either from the beginning of their lives, or the time of their converſion; and inveſting them with immortality and everlaſting glory."

"This faith, thus delivered," ſays Irenæus, "the Catholic church diſperſed throughout the world, retains with one conſent, as if it were animated with one ſoul, and ſpoke with one mouth. This is the belief of the churches of the Eaſt, of Egypt, of Africa, of Spain, of Germany and of the Celts, as well as of the Mediterranean churches of Paleſtine*;" and in the words of Tertul-

* Id. ibid. The ancient Chriſtians had an idea that Jeruſalem and

Tertullian*, " it was the belief of thoſe parts of Britain, which, though inacceſſible to the Romans, were yet ſubject to Chriſt." " This faith," continues Irenæus, " like the ſun, illumines the whole world. Being one and the ſame, neither the moſt eloquent teacher, nor the moſt eminent ruler in the church, can add any thing to it, and he that is the moſt rude of ſpeech, cannot diminiſh from it."

In other parts of this work, Irenæus mentions the three perſons of the Trinity, and almoſt as often as he ſpeaks of the Word, he eſtabliſhes either his divinity, eternity, or equality with the Father†. Euſebius teſtifies that this " apoſtolic " man," as Jerom ſtyles him, was always a ſtrenuous defender of the true Catholic faith ‡.

Of the Creeds in Tertullian.

Tertullian, who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, and was nearly contemporary with Irenæus, has left us three forms of a Creed; of which the moſt conciſe is here given.

and Paleſtine were ſituated in the middle of the world. If by the world we underſtand the continents of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, the whole of the world then known, the opinion, though it has often been ſtigmatized as a vulgar error, will be found to be almoſt geographically correct.

* Tert. adv. Jud. c. 7.

† See Dupin's Bib. Article *Iren.*

‡ Eccl. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 23.

" There

"There is only one rule of faith, and it is fixed and unalterable, that is, to believe in one God Almighty, the maker of the world;

"And in Jeſus Chriſt, his Son, who was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, on the third day raiſed again from the dead, received up into heaven, and now ſits at the right hand of the Father, from whence he ſhall come again to judge the quick and the dead, by the reſurrection of the fleſh *."

He elſewhere calls an expoſition of the faith, in which the divinity of Chriſt is more ſtrongly aſſerted, and mention is made of the Holy Spirit; and which is expreſſed more at length, and in words very different from the preceding Creed, "a rule of faith delivered by Chriſt, which heretics alone diſputed †."

A Creed attributed to Origen.

Whether Origen, as ſome maintain, or Maximus, who was older than Origen, or, what is more probable ‡, one of Origen's diſciples, named

* De Virg. vel. c. 1.

† Hæc regula a Chriſto inſtituta, nullas apud nos habet quæſtiones, niſi quas hæreſes inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt. De Præſcript. Hæret. c. 13 and 14.

‡ What it affirms of the *religious prince* is applicable to no one before Conſtantine.

Maximus, was the author of the dialogue, written to refute the errors of Marcion, it is not my preſent object to inquire; my deſign being only to quote from it the following form of a Creed:

"I believe," ſays the author, "there is One God, the maker and creator of all things:

"And one who is from him, God the word, who is of one ſubſtance with him, and co-eternal, who in thoſe latter ages aſſumed human nature, being born of Mary, and was crucified, and was raiſed again from the dead: I believe alſo the Holy Ghoſt, who exiſts from all eternity."

We have ſome fragments of the Creed in the writings of CYPRIAN, who alſo proves the antiquity of its uſe in the primitive church, and that not only the articles concerning the Trinity, the incarnation, &c. of Chriſt, but likewiſe thoſe which relate to the church, with the remiſſion of ſins, and life everlaſting, were a part of the Creed of the African churches in his time.

CREED OF GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

"There is one God, the Father of the living Word, of the eſſential wiſdom, and power, and of the eternal expreſs image; the perfect begetter of the perfect: the Father of the only begotten Son.

"There is one Lord, the only Son of the only Father, God of God, the character and expreſs image

image of the Godhead, the operative word, the providing wiſdom of the conſtitution of the univerſe, the efficient power of the whole creation *; the true Son of the true Father, inviſible of the inviſible, incorruptible of the incorruptible, immortal of the immortal, and eternal of the eternal:

"And there is one Holy Spirit, who proceedeth from God, and by the Son is made manifeſt to men. The image of the Son, the perfect likeneſs of the perfect: the life, the cauſe of life to the living. The holy fountain, holineſs itſelf, the author of ſanctification: by whom is manifeſted God the Father, who is over all, and in all, and God the Son, who is through all.

"There is therefore a perfect Trinity, which in glory, eternity, and ſovereignty is inſeparably and inalienably united †.—Neither is there in this Trinity any thing created, or ſubject to another; any thing adventitious, which did not exiſt before, but was afterwards introduced. Neither was the Son ever wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son, but the ſame Trinity is immutable and invariable from everlaſting."

This Creed is ſaid to have been compoſed by

* That is the wiſdom by which the ſyſtem of the univerſe was planned, and the power by which it was carried into execution, or created.

† The remaining part of the Creed, which ſome attribute to Gregory Thaumaturgus, others ſay is the concluſion drawn by Gregory of Nyſſa from the preceding profeſſion of faith.

Gregory for the uſe of his own church, at a time when there exiſted various controverſies on the ſubject of the Trinity. Gregory of Nyſſa, ſpeaking of this very formulary, teſtifies, that by it the people of Neo-Cæſarea, were inſtructed to his day, and thus preſerved from the infection of hereſy. It is not a complete ſummary of Chriſtian faith, being confined to the expoſition of the doctrines relating to the Holy Trinity. Of the opinion of the primitive church on this ſubject, it affords the moſt convincing proof; and in none of the writings of the Ante-nicene fathers is the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, more explicitly aſſerted.

This confeſſion of faith, as Gregory of Nyſſa relates in his life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, was delivered to him by a revelation from heaven*. And

* He ſays that the Virgin Mary, and St. John, appeared to Gregory in a viſion, and explained to him the myſtery of godlineſs. They likewiſe dictated a ſhort creed, which he committed to writing, and bequeathed the copy to the church of Neo-cæſarea, where this author affirms it was preſerved in his time. The ſtory of the viſion I believe to be fabulous, and I ſuſpect that it was forged to ſupport the Athanaſian doctrine, when it was in danger of being overturned. Pious frauds, and fictions are not peculiar to the church of Rome. Even in the earlier ages they were but too common to ſome Chriſtian polemics, who ſeem to have occaſionally thought any argument good, that was calculated to ſilence an opponent. Jerom almoſt acknowledges miſrepreſentation to be commendable, when it proceeds either from hatred towards infidels, or from zeal for the faith. Non condemnamus errorem, qui de odio Judæorum, & fidei pietate

And it was the obſervation of Biſhop Bull *, that it is by no means incredible that ſuch a revelation ſhould have been vouchſafed to him, conſidering the many miracles he is acknowledged to have wrought †. Whether the miracles are ſupported by ſufficient evidence, or not, this is unqueſtionably certain, that if the Creed was not entirely compoſed by Gregory Thaumaturgus, it was in times very near thoſe in which he lived, extant in its preſent form.

tate deſcendit, was his obſervation on the conduct of ſome Chriſtians, who pretended that certain *reddiſh* ſtones, found in the ruins of the temple, contracted that colour from the blood of Zacharias, the ſon of Barachias.

* *Bull* on the Nicene Creed, ſect. 11. c. 12. *Cave*, whom I conceive to be more credulous, and leſs judicious than *Bull*, queſtions the genuineneſs of the Creed. Non obſtante *Nyſſeni*, hominis in hiſce nimis creduli, autoritate, hæc expoſiuncala a viris cordatis, & prudentioribus ægre fidem impetrabit. (Hiſt. Lit. Greg. Thaum.) *Waterland* (import of Doct. of Trin.) maintains its genuineneſs.

† Hence he obtained the name of Thaumaturgus, (i. e.) worker of miracles. I apprehend that moſt of the miracles of the third, fourth, and ſubſequent centuries down to thoſe of the Holy Rood of St. Paul's, about the time of the reformation, and thoſe of the Virgin of *Ancona* of recent memory, are, by the learned in general, admitted to be falſe. I truſt that no churchman of the preſent day, will be offended by my recommending to my reader's attention Dr. Conyers Middleton's free Inquiry into the miraculous Powers which are ſuppoſed to have ſubſiſted in the Chriſtian church after the days of the Apoſtles.—I am far from believing, that the reporters and recorders of theſe miracles were diſpoſed to lie; yet they were, in general, I fear, but too willing to be deceived.

THE CREED OF LUCIAN.

About the time of Gregory lived Lucian, the eloquent Preſbyter of Antioch, who wrote ſeveral treatiſes concerning the faith, and towards the cloſe of the third century, ſuffered martyrdom. In oppoſition to the Sabellians he compoſed a Creed, which is recorded by Socrates *, Athanaſius †, and Hilary ‡. The laſt of theſe authors comments upon it, and proves, that it does not favour Arian opinions, as the abettors of that party pretended. The following tranſlation is given from the Greek of Socrates, and the form delivered and vindicated by Hilary is ſubjoined in the note §.

"We

* Ecc. Hiſt. l. 11. c. x. † De Syn. Arim. ‡ De Synod.

§ The form of this Creed, according to Hilary, is,—Conſequenter Evangelicæ & Apoſtolicæ traditioni credimus in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, cunctorum quæ ſunt ædificatorem & factorem & proviſorem, ex quo omnia:—Et in unum Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum, Filium ipſius unigenitum, Deum per quem omnia, qui generatus eſt ex patre, Deum ex Deo, Totum ex Toto, Unum ex Uno, Perfectum de Perfecto, Regem de Rege, Dominum de Domino, Verbum, Sapientiam, Vitam, Lumen verum, Viam veram, Reſurrectionem, Paſtorem, Januam, inconvertibilem & immutabilem, Divinitatis Eſſentiæque & Virtutis & Gloriæ incommutabilem Imaginem, primum editum totius creaturæ, qui ſemper fuit in principio apud Deum Verbum Deus, juxta quod dictum eſt in Evangelio: Et Deus erat Verbum, per quem omnia facta ſunt, & in quo omnia conſtant, qui in noviſſimis diebus deſcendit de ſummis

" We belive, according to the tradition of the evangeliſts and apoſtles, in one God, the Father Almighty, the maker and Creator of the univerſe:—And in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his only begotten Son, who is God, and by whom all things were made, who was begotten, before all ages, of the Father, God of God, Whole of Whole, Sole of Sole, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord; the living Word, Wiſdom, Life; the way of Truth, the Reſurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate; invariable and immutable; the unchangeble image of the Divinity, both of the eſſence and power, and will, and glory of the Father: the firſt born of every creature; who was in the beginning with God, the Word which was God, according to what is ſaid in the Goſpel, *and the*

mis, & natus eſt ex Virgine ſecundum Scripturas, & agnus factus eſt mediator Dei & hominum, prædeſtinatus fidei noſtræ & dux vitæ; dixit quippe, Non enim deſcendi de cœlo, ut facerem voluntatem meam, ſed voluntatem ejus qui me miſit. Qui paſſus eſt, & reſurrexit pro nobis tertia die, & aſcendit in cœlos & ſedet in dextram Patris, & iterum venturus eſt cum gloria judicare vivos & mortuos. Et in Sanctum Spiritum, qui in Paracleſin & Sanctificationem & Conſummationem credentibus datus eſt, juxta quod & Dominus Jeſus Chriſtus ordinavit diſcipulis, dicens, Pergite & docete univerſas gentes, baptizantes eos in Nomine Patris, & Filii & Spiritus Sancti, manifeſta utique Patris, vere Patris, certaque Filii vere Filii, notaque Spiritus Sancti, vere Spiritus Sancti: hiſque nominibus non ſimpliciter, neque otioſe propoſitis, ſed ſignificantibus diligenter propriam uniuſcujuſque nominatorum Subſtantiam & Ordinem & Gloriam, ut ſint quidem per ſubſtantiam tria, per conſonantiam vero unum. τη υποστασει τρια, τη δη συμφωνια ε.

word was God: by whom all things were made, and in whom all things ſubſiſt. Who in the laſt days came down from heaven, and was born of a Virgin according to the Scriptures; and was made man; the mediator between God and man; who was ſent to be the author of our faith, and the prince of life, for he ſaid *I came not from heaven to do mine own will, but the will of him that ſent me*: who ſuffered for us, and roſe again for us the third day, and aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, and ſhall come again with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead.—

"And I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, who is given for the conſolation, and ſanctification and perfection of them that believe; as alſo our Lord Jeſus Chriſt taught his diſciples, ſaying, *Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* That is of the Father, who is truly the Father; of the Son, who is truly the Son; and of the Holy Ghoſt, who is truly the Holy Ghoſt: theſe names not being idly, and without any meaning applied, but accurately expreſſing the diſtinct perſonality, glory, and order of each: So that they are three perſons united in one Godhead. This faith we hold before God and Chriſt."

This Creed was afterwards adopted by a council at Antioch, compoſed of ninety-five Biſhops, in ſome degree to guard againſt Arian principles, but

but chiefly to eſtabliſh the true faith, in oppoſition to Sabellianiſm. Biſhop Bull maintains the orthodoxy of the Creed, defends Hilary's apology for it, and anſwers the objections againſt it, made by Baronius and others *.

Creed of Jerusalem.

Of all the churches, thoſe of Paleſtine were the moſt ancient; and the firſt and moſt eminent among them, was the church of Jeruſalem; whence, as from a parent ſource Chriſtianity was diffuſed through the world. About the year 350, Cyril was created Biſhop of this church.—Before this, he had written his catechetical diſcourſes, in which are explained at length the articles of the Chriſtian faith. Theſe have been collected in the following Creed.

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible:

"And in one Lord, Jeſus Chriſt, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages †, the true God, by whom all things were made, who was incarnate, and made man, crucified

* Bull. Def. Nic. Fid. Sect. ii. c. xiii.

† Cyril very often, and in the ſtrongeſt manner, ſpeaks of the *eternal* generation of the Son. On this ſubject his Eleventh Catecheſis will be read with pleaſure. The catecheſes or catechetical diſcourſes were compoſed, as Jerom teſtifies, when Cyril was a *young* man, that is, ſoon after the Nicene Council.

fied and buried; and who roſe again from the dead the third day, and aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father; and ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead, of whoſe kingdom there ſhall be no end:

"And in the Holy Ghoſt, the comforter, who ſpake by the prophets; in one baptiſm of repentance, in the remiſſion of ſins; and in one Catholic church; and in the reſurrection of the fleſh, and in everlaſting life."

This Creed is neither the Nicene, nor the Conſtantinopolitan. It wants the words *of one ſubſtance with* the Father, and other titles given to the Son in the Nicene Creed. Neither is it the Conſtantinopolitan Creed, for Cyril's catecheſes were compoſed before he was made Biſhop of Jeruſalem, and the council of Conſtantinople was held thirty years after that period. It is in reality, ſays Biſhop Bull, the ancient Creed of the church of Jeruſalem *.

The introductory part is found in the Liturgy aſcribed to James, the firſt Biſhop of this church; and the whole of the Creed is probably one of the moſt ancient, and authentic ſummaries of faith that are now extant. It teaches in the moſt expreſs terms the divinity and eternal generation of Jeſus Chriſt. We may likewiſe remark that in

* Reſtat igitur, ut ſit revera vetus ſymbolum eccleſiæ Hieroſolymitanæ. Def. Fid. Nicæ.

this,

this, and other ancient oriental Creeds, were contained many of the articles that now follow the mention of the Holy Ghoſt in the Apoſtle's Creed, ſuch as one baptiſm, the remiſſion of ſins, the reſurrection of the body, and everlaſting life. The communion of ſaints and the deſcent into hell, are the only articles not expreſſed in this Creed, which are to be found in the preſent weſtern, or apoſtolic Creed. In concluſion we may obſerve, that even after the Nicene council, the churches both of the Eaſt and Weſt, retained their ancient Creeds*.

NICENE CREED, STRICTLY SO CALLED, AND CONSTANTINOPOLITAN, COMMONLY CALLED THE NICENE.

From the ſpecimens already exhibited, the leſs learned reader may perceive, what was the ſubſtance of the Creeds of the primitive churches. For we have no entire form of a public Creed, before that which was agreed upon at the *firſt general meeting*, or *council*, conſiſting of Chriſtians from all parts of the world, and held at *Nice* in Bithynia A. D. 325. This council compoſed and eſtabliſhed a Creed, principally in oppoſition to the forms adopted by the Arians. Hence it is that the articles, which in ancient as well as in more

* Eccleſiæ tam orientis, quam occidentales, antiqua ſua ſymbola, etiam poſt ſynodum Nicænam, retinuere. *Bull. Fid. Nic. Def.*

modern Creeds, ſucceed the mention of the Holy Ghoſt, are in the Nicene Creed omitted. About theſe there was no controverſy, and the Fathers aſſembled at *Nice*, did not recite, or explain more of the Creed than was neceſſary to oppoſe the errors of the times.

Fifty-eight years after the drawing up of the Nicene Creed, it was compleated by the *ſecond general* council, (held at Conſtantinople A. D. 383.)* and publiſhed in the form in which it now ſtands in our communion ſervice, and in that of almoſt all the eſtabliſhed churches in the world. During this interval, new hereſies had ſprung up, reſpecting the belief in the Holy Spirit. In oppoſition to them, a few clauſes were added to the Creed: as were alſo thoſe other articles which formed a part of the interrogatories propoſed to the candidates for baptiſm, and which, as has appeared from the Creeds already cited, were commonly annexed to confeſſions of faith.—This Creed, thus compoſed, is more generally diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Nicene* Creed, than the *Conſtantinopolitan*. The difference between the two Creeds will be ſufficiently obvious, by printing in *Italic*, the additions, made by the fathers aſſembled at Conſtantinople, to the form originally agreed upon at Nice.

* At Conſtantinople three general aſſemblies of Biſhops were ſucceſſively held, in the years 381, 382, and 383. It is the firſt of the canons of the laſt Synod, that ratifies the Creed of the Council of *Nice*. *Dupin*.

" I believe

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of *heaven and earth, and of* all things viſible and inviſible:

"And in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the only begotten Son of God, [that is, of the ſubſtance of the Father *] *begotten of his Father before all worlds*, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one ſubſtance with the Father: By whom all things were made [both in Heaven and on earth]: Who for us men, and for our ſalvation, came down *from heaven* and was incarnate *by the Holy Ghoſt of the Virgin Mary*, and was made man, *and was crucified alſo for us under Pontius Pilate*: he ſuffered *and was buried*, and the third day he roſe again *according to the Scriptures*, and aſcended into heaven, *and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father*: and he ſhall come again *with glory* to judge both the quick and the dead; *whoſe kingdom ſhall have no end.*

"And *we believe* in the Holy Ghoſt, † *the Lord and giver of life who proceedeth from the Father (and the Son‡), who with the Father and the Son together is*

* The clauſes in brackets, which form a part of the *Nicene* Creed, are omitted in the *Conſtantinopolitan.*

† Here the Nicene Creed ended; but it was followed by an *anathema* againſt all who ſhould maintain, that *there was a time when the Son was not*, or *that he was not before he was born*, or *that he was created.*

‡ However true the doctrine may be, or however conſonant to the *opinions* of the more *ancient* Greek fathers, that the "Holy Spirit "proceeds from the Father and the Son," yet the words *and the Son* are

*is worſhipped and glorified, who ſpake by the prophets. And (I believe *) one Catholic and Apoſtolic church; we acknowledge one baptiſm for the remiſſion of ſins; (and †) we look for the reſurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.*"

Creed of Pelagius. ‡

Pelagius, the monk of Bangor, is the only writer of the more ancient Britiſh church, that was diſtinguiſhed in the Roman world. Before he fell into the erroneous opinions he entertained concerning original ſin §, and the neceſſity of divine grace, which

are not found in the Greek copies of the Conſtantinopolitan Creed. They are an interpolation originally made by the Spaniſh and Gallic churches. Againſt them, Leo III. decreed that no addition be made to the Creed of a general council. But his ſucceſſors wiſhed to compel the Greeks to adopt that language in the Creed, which was never uſed by the Greek Fathers. They ſay, the Holy Spirit proceeds *from* the Father *by* the Son.

* Wanting in Greek copies, and Roman miſſals.

† Not in the Creed, but in the miſſals.

‡ His name in the language of his own country is ſuppoſed to have been *Morgan, (Marigena)* which ſignifies what *Pelagius* does in Greek and Latin, *belonging to the Sea.* He lived at Rome in great reputation about the end of the fourth century. He was a man of extraordinary abilities, and they who condemn his errors, in general reſpect his learning, piety, and virtue.

§ The term *original ſin* is ſaid to have been firſt uſed by Auſtin, in order ſtrongly to denote the corruption of our nature, derived from the fall of our firſt parents. This doctrine, which

was

which were ſucceſsfully combated by Jerom, Auſtin, and many others, and are rejected expresſly by our church, he had written three books on *the Belief of the Trinity*, of which this Creed may be conſidered as an abſtract. The Creed, though it has been attributed both to Auſtin and Jerom, was addreſſed by Pelagius to Pope Innocent. So that it is much older than the Athanaſian, and only about thirty-four years poſterior to the Conſtantinopolitan. It contains a very full and explicit confeſſion of the true faith. Out of reſpect to our Countryman, the author of the Hiſtory of Infant Baptiſm has tranſlated it at length: and the following *extract* will ſhew, that, however favourable the revival of ſome of the errors of Pelagius may be thought to the Socinian tenets, yet on the leading articles of Chriſtian faith, that cauſe has no where a more direct or decided adverſary.

"We believe," ſays Pelagius, "in God, the father Almighty, maker of all things viſible and inviſible.

"We believe alſo in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom all things were created; very God, the only begotten, the true Son of God; neither made, nor adopted, but begotten: of one ſubſtance with the Father, which the Greeks expreſs by ὁμοούσιος: and in all things equal to the Father, ſo that he is not inferior to him, either in time, degree, or

was expreſſed in different terms by the more ancient fathers, the Pelagians denied. See 9th Art. of Rel.

power.—

power.—Though we say, the Son is begotten of the Father, we ascribe no time to that divine and ineffable generation: but we mean that neither the Father nor the Son had any beginning. For we cannot otherwise confess the *Father* to be eternal, unless we also acknowledge the *Son* to be coeternal: for he is called the *Father*, as having a *Son*; and he who for *ever* was a *Father*, for *ever* had a *Son*.

"We believe also in the Holy Spirit, very God, who proceedeth from the Father; and who, in power, in will, in eternity, in substance, is equal to the Father and the Son.

"As in confutation of Arius, we say, that the substance of the Trinity is one and the same, and acknowledge one God in three persons; so avoiding the impiety of Sabellius, we distinguish three persons, saying there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit.—They are one in substance, but are distinguished by persons.

"We say that the Son of God, who, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, existed from eternity, and without beginning, did, in time, take upon him of Mary, who was always a Virgin, our Nature; the Word was made flesh, by taking the manhood to him, not by altering the Godhead.—There is in Christ, one person of the Son, and two perfect and entire natures, one of the Godhead, and one of the manhood, which consists of body and soul.

" We hold, that our nature, capable of ſuffering, was ſo aſſumed by the Son of God, as that the Divinity remained incapable of ſuffering. For the Son of God ſuffered, not in appearance only, but really, all the things which the Scripture ſpeaks of, hunger, thirſt, wearineſs, pain, and death; but he ſuffered in that Nature which was capable of ſuffering, not in that Nature which did aſſume, but in that which was aſſumed: For the Son, in reſpect of his Godhead, is incapable of ſuffering, as the Father is incapable of ſuffering; incomprehenſible *, as the Father is incomprehenſible; inviſible, as the Father is inviſible. The Son of God died, according to the Scriptures, in reſpect of that which was capable of dying.

" The third day he roſe again, he aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father; the ſame nature of fleſh ſtill remaining, in which he was born, and ſuffered, in which he alſo roſe again. The nature of his humanity is not extinguiſhed, but glorified, being to continue for ever with the Divinity. He will come to judge the living and the dead, that he may reward the juſt, and puniſh ſinners. We alſo believe the reſurrection of the fleſh; and that we ſhall for ever remain ſuch as we ſhall once be made after

* *Incomprehenſible*, in the Latin original, is nearly equivalent to *omnipreſent*, and expreſſes that which cannot be *comprehended in ſpace*, or *included within bounds*.

the reſurrection *. That there is one life for the ſaints, but rewards different according to their labours: as the puniſhment of the wicked ſhall be according to the meaſure of their ſins.

"We hold *one baptiſm*, which ought to be adminiſtered with the ſame ſacramental words to *infants* as it is to adults. If after baptiſm a man do fall, we believe he may be recovered by repentance." &c. &c.

Athanasian Creed.

Some have ſuppoſed that this Creed was written by Athanaſius during his reſidence at Rome †: but it is more commonly aſcribed to Vigilius, the African ‡, who lived towards the end of the fifth century. The Creed, as many of the learned § think, was originally compoſed in Latin for the uſe of ſome part of that church, and afterwards tranſlated into Greek. This valuable expoſition of the Chriſtian faith was adopted by moſt of the ancient weſtern churches, and, among the reſt, by thoſe of Gaul and Britain.

* He here glances, not only at Origen, who believed a great many changes in the future ſtate, but at Jerom, who had ſpoken of the torments of hell, as if there were hope that they would not be eternal. *Wall.*

† Baron. Ann. 340.

‡ Symbolum fidei, ſub Athanaſii nomine circulatum, *Vigilio* nos, non invita, ut credimus, veritate, aſcribendum cenſemus. (Cave, Hiſt. Lit.)

§ Cave quoted above, with Voſſius, Pearſon, Uſher, &c.

Being

Being an excellent ſummary of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the incarnation of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as taught by the apoſtles, received by the earlier Chriſtians, and eſtabliſhed by the four firſt general councils, it is, on certain feſtivals, appointed by our church to be uſed at Morning Prayer inſtead of the Apoſtles' Creed *.

And,

* The objections made to this Creed by thoſe who believe the Scripture to be the word of God, and that this Creed, in general, contains nothing that is contrary to that word, are, that it is *unintelligible* and *uncharitable*. To the former of theſe objections it has been replied, there is a great difference between underſtanding the meaning of the Creed, or the doctrine which it ſets forth, and comprehending the thing itſelf, or the myſtery, to which this doctrine relates. It is eaſy enough to underſtand the Catholic or orthodox doctrine, concerning the Trinity, which the Scripture teaches, and the church has always received; but to comprehend the myſtery of the Trinity itſelf, is impoſſible. For we cannot conceive the *manner*, how three perſons are One God, nor how the One God ſubſiſts in three perſons. By not attending to this neceſſary diſtinction, a man may ſuppoſe he does not underſtand the *doctrine* of the *Creed*, merely becauſe he cannot comprehend the *myſtery* of the *Trinity*.—This latter is above his underſtanding. But is that the fault of this Creed?—Suppoſing the Creed expunged from the Liturgy, would he have clearer conceptions of this myſterious truth? Or will any other Creed, or expoſition of the faith, that human ingenuity can deviſe, enable a *finite* capacity to comprehend an *infinite* object?—The principal uſe of a Creed is, to put a form of ſound words into the mouths of Chriſtians, that they may be able to make a proper confeſſion of their faith. Such forms are the apoſtolic, and the Nicene Creeds, as well as moſt of the Creeds that appear in the preceding pages. But the Athanaſian Creed is farther intended to guard and ſecure the faith againſt the artifices and evaſions of all heretics. And if, in ſome points, other Creeds are more eaſy, it is

And, in the language of a learned writer, "as long as there ſhall be any man left to oppoſe the doctrines

only becauſe they are more *general*, and deſcend not to ſuch a particular explication; but they are for this reaſon more liable to be evaded, and the true ſenſe of them is more eaſily explained away. See Horberry's XVIIIth Sermon.

As to its *uncharitableneſs*, the condemning, or damnatory clauſes, as they have been called, do not extend to each of the particular explications here given, but are intended only to ſecure the general doctrine. To elucidate the meaning and intention of the church, the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners appointed in 1689 to review the Liturgy, agreed, that a Rubric ſhould be made, *declaring that the condemning clauſes were not to be reſtrained to each particular article, but were intended againſt thoſe that deny the ſubſtance of the Chriſtian religion in general.* (Life of Tillotſon by Birch, p. 181.) And it ſhould ſeem that there is no want of charity in declaring, that it is neceſſary, according to the terms of the Goſpel, to believe that there are three perſons who are one God, and that the ſecond of theſe, the Son, was made man. In the Engliſh tranſlation there is the appearance of a harſh expreſſion not warranted by the original, *He that will be ſaved muſt thus think of the Trinity.* This paſſage might perhaps be more faithfully rendered, *Let him who deſires to be ſaved, thus think of the Trinity.* (Qui vult ſervari, ita de Trinitate ſentiat.) Theſe words, which have been ſtrangely ſtyled a *damnatory* clauſe, do not imply even ſo much as a *cenſure*. They are an application of the introduction, which ſimply ſtates, what no Chriſtian will deny, that whoever is deſirous of ſalvation, and expects it upon the terms of the Goſpel, muſt firſt of all believe the doctrines of the Goſpel; he muſt in particular embrace and hold faſt, the two primary articles of faith, that "in the unity of the "Godhead there are three perſons of one ſubſtance, power, and "eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt;" (1ſt Art. of Rel.) and that for us men, and for our ſalvation, the ſecond perſon, the Son, became incarnate. Of theſe two articles the Creed gives a full and circumſtantial expoſition: and in the con-

concluſion

trines which this Creed contains, ſo long will it be expedient, and even neceſſary to continue the uſe of it, in order to preſerve the reſt.—And I ſuppoſe, when we have none remaining to find fault with the doctrines, there will be none to object againſt the uſe of the Creed."

In the following table, taken from Dupin's Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, four ancient Creeds are compared. The Vulgar, (or the Apoſtles' Creed in its preſent form) the Aquileian, the Oriental, and the Roman, (or the older form of the Apoſtolic Creed.) Dupin does not ſtate what copies he followed. This I mention, becauſe different copies of the ſame Creed are often delivered with ſome variety of expreſſion; and the Creeds here given do not all, in every inſtance, minutely and verbally agree with other copies that I have examined.

cluſion it exhorts all that would avoid dangerous errors, to hold the Catholic faith; to believe that the three divine perſons are one God, and that the Word was truly made man, and thus to think of the Trinity.

Notwithſtanding the excellence of the Creed, the expediency of uſing it in a public Liturgy has been queſtioned by divines, who both ſteadfaſtly believed the doctrines it contains, and approved of the expoſitions of them it delivers. I think it probable that they are argued upon this principle.—Our congregations being infected with no erroneous opinions in matters of faith, being in general happily unacquainted, not only with the nature, but even with the very names of the various corruptions againſt which this Creed explicitly guards, there is leſs occaſion, in our public worſhip, for the recital of ſo minute an explication of points which are confeſſedly abſtruſe.

A Comparative Table of

THE VULGAR.	THE AQUILEIAN.
I. I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth.	I. I believe in one God, the Father Almighty.
II. And in Jeſus Chriſt, his only Son our Lord.	II. And in Chriſt Jeſus, his only Son our Lord.
III. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary.	III. Who was born by the Holy Ghoſt of the Virgin Mary.
IV. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, he deſcended into hell.	IV. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, he deſcended into hell.
V. The third day he roſe again from the dead.	V. The ſame.
VI. He aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty.	VI. He aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God, the Father.
VII. From thence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.	VII. The ſame.
VIII. I believe in the Holy Ghoſt.	VIII. And in the Holy Ghoſt.
IX. The holy catholic church, the communion of ſaints.	IX. I believe the holy church.
X. The forgiveneſs of ſins.	X. The ſame.
XI. The reſurrection of the body.	XI. The reſurrection of this body.
XII. And the life everlaſting. Amen.	XII. Wanting.

Four Ancient Creeds.

THE ORIENTAL.	THE ROMAN.
I. I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, invisible and impassable.	I. I believe in God, the Father Almighty.
II. And in our only Lord Jesus Christ, his Son.	II. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord.
III. The same.	III. The same.
IV. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried.	IV. The same as in the Oriental.
V. The same.	V. The same.
VI. The same, yet Almighty is sometimes added, as in the Vulgar	VI. The same with the Aquileian.
VII. The same.	VII. The same.
VIII. The same.	VIII. The same.
IX. The same.	IX. The same.
X. The same.	X. The same.
XI. The same as in the Vulgar.	XI. The same.
XII. Wanting.	XII. Wanting.

Though the Creed was always uſed prior to the adminiſtration of baptiſm, when the catechumen made an open profeſſion of his faith, and ſometimes in private devotion, yet in the earlier ages it conſtituted no part of the public Liturgy. It was firſt introduced into the daily ſervice of the Greek church by Tullo, who was Biſhop of Antioch about A. D. 471, and was adopted by the church of Conſtantinople about 511. From the Eaſtern churches this cuſtom was brought into the Weſt; and the Conſtantinopolitan Creed was, by the third council of Toledo, (about A. D. 589) ordered to be recited before the Lord's Prayer, in the churches of Spain and Gallicia*. Theſe churches being then returning from the doctrines of Arius, with which they had been infected, this Creed was employed as an antidote againſt relapſing into like errors for the future. In the time of Charlemagne it was adopted by all the churches of Gaul, where, as well as in Spain, it was ever afterwards retained, notwithſtanding the advice and directions of Pope Leo III. to lay aſide a practice which the Papal See had not then admitted †. The church of Rome, however, finding from long experience, that the Spaniſh and Gallican churches were not to be prevailed upon

* Some copies of the acts of this council read Gallia.

† The Creed was not ſung or ſaid at Rome in the Liturgy, for which this reaſon was aſſigned, *The Roman church was not infected with hereſies as other churches were.* And at that period the allegation was not unfounded.

to

to adopt her practice, complied with theirs.—"That there might be no disagreement in the "church," was the pretence of Rome for introducing the Creed into her Liturgy, about A. D. 1014, that is, upwards of 400 years after the daily use of it had been enjoined by the third council of Toledo.

This is one of the arguments which Stillingfleet * produces to shew the difference between the old Gallic and the Roman offices; and to prove, that the church of England at the reformation did not follow the model of the church of Rome, but the more generally received and approved practices of the ancient Gallic and British churches.

Creed why placed in this Part of the Service.

That the place in which the Creed stands in our Morning and Evening Prayer †, is the most proper that could be chosen, will be evident, if we consider what precedes and what follows it.

* Antiq. of Brit. Church, c. iv. p. 226, &c.

† In the Breviaries it is directed to be said *privately*, immediately after *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, and before the Mattins or Morning Service begin. But with us, excepting only the intervention of a hymn, the Apostles' Creed immediately follows the lesson from the Gospel at morning service, as the Constantinopolitan does the lesson from the Gospel in the communion service. This is perfectly consonant to the practice of antiquity, which appointed the Creed to be said after the Gospel.

1. Before

1. Before it, are the Leſſons taken out of the Holy Scriptures. "Faith comes by hearing," and we having heard the word of God, profeſs our belief of it. The word did not profit the Jews, for want of faith in them that heard it. We truſt it will profit us, who immediately after hearing it, individually make open profeſſion of our belief.

2. After the Creed follow the Collects and Prayers, and on the days appointed, the Litany. Our belief is the baſis of our ſupplications.—— "Faith is the fountain of prayer," ſays Auſtin, and "how ſhall they call on him in whom they "have not believed," aſks an inſpired apoſtle? That we may call upon him properly and effectually, we firſt declare our belief by reciting the Creed. With ſtrict propriety therefore have the compilers of our Liturgy directed us to repeat the Apoſtles' Creed *after* we have heard "God's holy "word;" and *before* we proceed "to aſk thoſe "things that are requiſite and neceſſary, as well "for the body as the ſoul."

Why recited by both Minister and People.

The Rubric directs the Apoſtles' Creed to be ſaid or ſung by the miniſter and the people. Each individual of the congregation is to join it. It is the confeſſion of every perſon preſent, and there-

therefore every one ought perſonally to pronounce it with the miniſter *.

It ſhould be remembered, that our Creed does not, like our prayers, run in the plural number †. The miniſter does not ſay in the name of the congregation, "We believe;" but he for himſelf, and every individual for himſelf, is directed to ſay, "I believe." We may, and in Holy Scripture we are often admoniſhed, to pray for one another. But every man muſt believe for himſelf, and ought to make the profeſſion of his belief with his own mouth, ſince every one is to be juſtified and ſaved by his own faith, and not by the faith of others. Let none of the people imagine, if they hear the miniſter repeat it, and themſelves ſay Amen, that this is ſufficient. For every member of the congregation is as much concerned in the rehearſal of it, as the miniſter himſelf. At the concluſion of a Collect, he who adds *Amen* is ſuppoſed ſufficiently to unite in the whole; but belief is conſidered as a thing ſo entirely perſonal, that the church has directed the whole congregation to accompany the miniſter in the recitation

* In ſome of our country churches, the people ſay the Creed *after* the miniſter. Before they utter a word, he finiſhes a ſentence; and then pauſes till they have begun, and repeated it after him. Thus each article is twice rehearſed, firſt by the miniſter, and afterwards by the people. This practice I conceive not to be conſonant either to the directions or meaning of the framers of the Rubric.

† Yet we have ſeen that many of the ancient Creeds did.

of

of her Creeds; excepting only that of Athanaſius, where the recital of the clauſes by the miniſter and people alternately is equivalent to the repetition of the whole.

Creed why repeated standing.

The Creed is appointed to be ſaid or ſung by the miniſter and the people *ſtanding*. This was the attitude, in which the catechumens in the ancient church always repeated it. The Creed is not ſo immediately addreſſed to God as our prayers are. It is a ſolemn declaration, reciprocally made by one man to another, by every individual to the whole congregation. Now, whenever one man addreſſes an aſſembly of his equals, and in the houſe of prayer all men muſt be conſidered as equal, ſtanding is the attitude which among us decorum naturally ſuggeſts; and it is therefore the attitude enjoined by the regulations of the church. An additional reaſon for the attitude is, that this declaration of faith is made in the preſence of God, by whom, at the ſame time, we wiſh it ſhould be heard, and towards whom we ſhould ſhew every mark of reſpect and reverence.

Again, *ſtanding* may imply a determination to defend and maintain the faith which we profeſs. And upon this principle is to be explained the ancient practice of ſome churches *, where the

* Of Lithuania, Poland, &c.

nobility repeated the Creed ſtanding, and with their ſwords drawn, intimating, that they would, to the utmoſt, defend the doctrines of the Creed, and were prepared, if neceſſity ſhould require, to ſeal the truth of it with their blood.

Creed why said standing towards the East.

In the recital of the Creed it was cuſtomary to turn towards the chancel, or eaſtern part of the edifice. This ancient cuſtom, though not enjoined by any Rubric, or direction of our church, that I at preſent recollect, is ſtill retained by many of our congregations. For the origin of this practice we muſt look to the uſage of antiquity, where, as we have obſerved, the Creed was firſt publicly uſed in baptiſm. The renunciation of "the devil and all his works, the "pomps and vanities of this wicked world, with "all the ſinful luſts of the fleſh," was made by the catechumens with their faces turned to the Weſt; but in the Creed, and the vow of obedience, they turned to the Eaſt. The meaning of which ſymbolical practice has been thus explained: "the Weſt is the place of darkneſs. Satan is "darkneſs, and his ſtrength is in darkneſs. For "this reaſon you look to the Weſt, when you re-"nounce the prince of darkneſs." And Ambroſe ſays, "thou art turned to the Eaſt: for he that "renounces the devil turns unto Chriſt;" intimating that turning to the Eaſt, or riſing ſun, was con-

conſidered as a converſion from Satan unto Chriſt, a change from darkneſs unto light, from ſerving idols to worſhip the fountain of light, the ſun of righteouſneſs.

Of bowing at the Name of Jesus.

There is a general practice in our churches of bowing here at the mention of the name of Jeſus. I do not mean to cenſure any cuſtom which is intended to expreſs veneration for our Saviour; but the practice is founded on a paſſage of St. Paul too literally underſtood; "At the name of Jeſus every "knee ſhall bow." The fathers, who in general ſtudied holy Scripture with leſs judgment than devotion, underſtood theſe words to imply that the mention of the name of Jeſus ſhould be literally accompanied by an inclination of the perſon.--- The XVIIIth canon directs that, "when in time "of divine ſervice, the name of the Lord Jeſus "ſhall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence "ſhall be done by all perſons preſent, as it hath "been accuſtomed, teſtifying by theſe outward "ceremonies and geſtures their inward humility, "Chriſtian reſolution, and due acknowledgment, "that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the true eternal Son "of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in "whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promiſes "of God to mankind, for this life and the life to "come, are fully and wholly compriſed."---At preſent it is cuſtomary to do reverence, when the

name of Jeſus is mentioned in this and the Nicene Creed. But theſe are the only inſtances in which the directions of the canon are generally followed. And our practice varies from that of the laſt century, if the following obſervation, ſuppoſed to be Biſhop Overall's, is authentic: "In reading "the Holy Goſpel," (the Goſpel in the communion ſervice, as appears from the context, is meant) "and *never elſe*, is adoration made at the name "of Jeſus. For then only is it in its right exal- "tation, and then men ſtand up in a poſture ready "to make reverence *."

The articles of the Creed are ſo frequently expounded in ſermons, and ſo well explained in a variety of ſmall catechetical and others tracts, thouſands of which are annually diſperſed throughout England by the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, and ſome of which muſt be preſumed to be in the poſſeſſion of every one into whoſe hands this work is likely to fall, that a particular expoſition of each article is judged unneceſſary. For a more full and accurate account of whatever relates to the Creed, reference may be had to Biſhop Pearſon, and the authors cited in the notes, from whom many of the preceding obſervations are drawn.

* See the Appendix to Nichol's Commentary.

TWO

TWO VERSICLES*
Between the Creed and Lord's Prayer.

The ſalutation of the prieſt, and the reſponſe of the people, which follow the Creed, are derived either from Ruth ii. 4, where Boaz ſays to the reapers, "the Lord be with you," and they reply, "the Lord bleſs thee;" or from St. Paul, who uſes the expreſſion, "the Lord be with you all," and "the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your ſpirit." (2 Theſſ. iii. 16—2 Tim. iv. 2.)

Theſe verſicles, which are ſaid to have been uſed by the apoſtles in their public worſhip, are found in the weſtern Liturgy aſcribed to St. Peter, and in moſt of the ancient Liturgies of the Eaſt. When ſome propoſed to alter thoſe expreſſions, a council held in 535 thought fit to ratify this form of Salutation, and to enjoin, that it ſhould be uſed, without variation, according to the cuſtom of all the Eaſt, where, as the acts of the council inform us, it was looked upon as an apoſtolic inſtitution †.

In

* In Edward's firſt book, theſe two Verſicles were placed at the end of the interlocutory ſentences after the Lord's Prayer, and were followed by "Let us pray," which words were then ſaid immediately before the firſt collect.

† *(Conc. Braccharen. Can. 21.)* In the Roman church this ſalutation is repeated ſeven times, during the celebration of the office of the

In the ancient offices the words often denote a tranſition from one part of the ſervice to another, and in this light they may here be conſidered. Our conſciences abſolved from ſin by confeſſion, our affections elated with praiſe and thankſgiving, our underſtandings enlightened by hearing God's word, and our faith ſtrengthened by a ſolemn profeſſion, we now enter more particularly upon the buſineſs of prayer, and proceed "to aſk thoſe "things which are requiſite and neceſſary as well for the body, as the ſoul."

Before we begin to pray, the ſalutation of the prieſt reminds the people, that without God's aſſiſtance, their ſervices cannot be profitably performed. It is alſo a ſeaſonable petition that He would graciouſly be preſent with them in the offering of the ſacrifice of thoſe prayers, which the church has appointed to follow: that he would lift up their hearts, accept their devotions, and reward their ſervices.

The people, remembering that their miniſter is going to preſent his ſupplications, and to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifices for them, pray in return, that the ſame Lord may be graciouſly preſent with him, at all times, and eſpecially in the performance of theſe holy duties. And where the miniſter and people, with proper diſpoſitions, thus

the communion, in reference to the ſevenfold gifts of the ſpirit. See the hymn in the ordination office, beginning "Come, Holy "Ghoſt, thy ſevenfold gifts inſpire."

acknowledge their own inſufficiency, declare their mutual love and charity, and reciprocally pray for each other, they will aſſuredly obtain a bleſſing from God.

LET US PRAY.

This exhortation, which is often repeated in the ancient Liturgies, as well as in our own, may be conſidered as an invitation to prayer in general, to ardent and intenſe prayer in particular. In the ancient Liturgies the aſſiſtant deacon is directed frequently to call upon the people to pray, to pray earneſtly, and to pray ſtill more earneſtly *. And the ſame ſpirit of devotion our church breathes in her Liturgy by the frequent repetition of the words, "Let us pray †."

They here remind the people, that as they are now ſolemnly entering upon the grand duty of ſupplication and prayer, they ſhould not ſuffer their thoughts to wander, nor their attention to abate: But that they ſhould pray with fervency, and with holy importunity beſiege the throne of heaven ‡.

* Δεηθωμεν, εκτενως δεηθωμεν, εκτενεστερον δεηθωμεν. Greek and Oriental Liturgies.

† Theſe words are addreſſed not to God, but to the congregation, of which *they* ſhould be made ſenſible by the mode of delivery.

‡ Coimus ad Deum;—quaſi manu facta precationibus ambiamus. Hæc vis Deo grata eſt. *Tert. Apol.* c. 39.

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In other parts of the ſervice, they denote a tranſition from one form of prayer to another. In the Litany, for inſtance, where they are prefixed to the prayers, "O God, merciful Father," and "We humbly beſeech thee," they ſignify, "let "us here change our ſupplications by verſicles "alternately recited, into collects and prayers *," and at the ſame time are intended to excite the fervour of the congregation.

LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Theſe three verſicles were called ſometimes the leſſer Litany (Litania minor) ſometimes the earneſt or vehement ſupplication, (εκτενης ικεσια,) being a moſt pathetic addreſs to each perſon of the Trinity. When theſe verſicles were uſed alone, as a ſhort form of ſupplication, they had the nature and name of a Litany. The firſt and third verſicles are literal tranſlations of the ancient *Kyrie Eleiſon* †. In the ſecond verſicle the word Lord was changed by the Latin church into Chriſt, to

* And this, I apprehend, they imported here in Edward's firſt book, where they follow the interlocutory ſentences and the two verſicles, and immediately precede the firſt collect. In the Latin Liturgies, and more eſpecially in the Rubrics, the words *preces* and *orationes* ſeem to be thus diſtinguiſhed: *Preces*, that is ſupplications, were thoſe alternate petitions, where the people anſwered by reſponſive verſicles. *Oratio*, the oriſon or prayer, and all the collects, were ſaid by the prieſt alone, the people only anſwering, *Amen*.

† Κυριε ελεησον, i. e. Lord, have pity, or mercy.

ſhew, that it was addreſſed to the ſecond perſon of the bleſſed Trinity, and to denote his divine and human nature *.

The Latins likewiſe repeated the verſicles alternately, as we do; but among the Greeks, the ſupplication was made by the common voice of the miniſter and the people. In the Romiſh church theſe verſicles were repeated nine times. The reaſons for this practice, may be ſeen in Durandus, Durantus, and other ritualiſts. *Kyrie Eleiſon*, though a Greek expreſſion, was ſuperſtitiouſly retained untranſlated by the Latin church. In the uſe of the Greek term they fancied there exiſted a peculiar efficacy, and by the recitation of theſe words extraordinary miracles are related to have been performed †.

When

* In medio mutatur *Kyrie* in Chriſte, ut notetur duas eſſe naturas in Chriſto. *Durand. Rat. Off. Div.*

† Magna eſt horum verborum efficacia, ſays Durandus, who, in ſupport of the aſſertion, produces various inſtances of miracles, ſuppoſed to have been wrought by them. As a ſpecimen, the following is extracted from a French writer on the Liturgy. Cette meſme priere *(Kyrie Eleiſon)* a eſté en propres termes en vſage, tant en la Meſſe que hors de la Meſſe, dans l'Egliſe Orientale, dès les premiers ſiecles; ce que nous remarquons dans Amphilochius, en la vie qu'il a eſcrite de ſaint Baſile; où il eſt dit, que ce grand prelat ayant aſſemblé ſon peuple pour prier Dieu pour le mal-heurux Theophile, qui s'eſtoit donné au diable par vne ſcedule, & deſiroit toutefois ſe releur de cette obligation; en retractant ſa promeſſe; Ils paſſerent tout la nuit en prieres auec leur Paſteur, prians Dieu à chaudes larmes pour luy; & crians, *Miſericorde* ou *Kyrie eleiſon*, qui vent dire *Seigneur, ayez pitié.* En ſuite dequoy l'eſprit malin ayant inſulté inſolemment contre

When we conſider the ſuperſtitious abuſe of this ancient and valuable form, both among the Greek and Latin Chriſtians, we muſt admire the wiſdom, and the moderation of our firſt reformers; their moderation in not expunging from the Liturgy what had been ſo groſsly abuſed; their wiſdom in retaining this ancient form of ſupplication, but at the ſame time tranſlating it into Engliſh, that all imputation of ſuperſtitious attachment to the original words might be removed.

The ſecond council of Vaiſons obſerves, that in the Eaſt, and the provinces of Italy, an uſeful and agreeable cuſtom prevailed of frequently ſaying the ſupplication, "Lord have mercy upon us," with great devotion and contrition: and enacts that in the Gallic church, it ſhall be introduced into the Morning and Evening Prayer, and the office of the holy communion *. in our daily ſervice theſe verſicles are placed before the repeti-

contre ſaint Baſile, & s'eſtant vanté qu'il tenoit en main le ſcedule de ce Theophile, pour l'expoſer au grand Iugement, ce ſaint Prelat pour l'obliger à la rendre, continua d'exhorte, toute l'aſſiſtance de hauſſer leurs voix & leurs ſupplications vers le Ciel: Ce qu'eſtant fait, l'eſcrit fut rendu par vne main inviſible, & mis dans les mains de ſaint Baſile. *La Liturgie Sacree par Grimaud.*

* Quia tam in ſede apoſtolica, quam etiam per totas Orientis, atque Italiæ provincias, dulcis, & nimis ſalubris conſuetudo intromiſſa eſt, ut *Kyrie eleiſon*, frequentius cum grandi affectu, ac compunctione dicatur, placuit etiam nobis, ut in omnibus eccleſiis noſtris illa conſuetudo ſancta, et ad Matutinum, et ad Miſſas, et ad Veſperas, Deo propitiante, intromittatur. Can. v.

tion of the Lord's Prayer, to which they form a proper introduction. For no prayer requires greater preparation than that divine form which proceeded from the lips of our Lord. Sometimes the Lord's Prayer is preceded by confeſſion and abſolution, but more generally by this ſhorter Litany, which inſtructs us to acknowledge our unworthineſs, bewail our miſery, and ſupplicate the mercy of God. After this, we may with humble confidence look up to our heavenly Father, and pray to him for farther bleſſings.

Lord's Prayer why repeated here.

Concerning the repetition of the Lord's Prayer in this place we may obſerve, that the practice of the church is ſanctioned by the example of the author of this prayer. Chriſt himſelf prayed three times, ſaying the ſame words. When it was repeated in the beginning of the ſervice, it was more particularly applied for the confirmation of our pardon and abſolution. Here it has reſpect to the following prayers, which we have reaſon to preſume will be more acceptable on its account. And if on the former occaſion we did not offer any petition with ſuitable earneſtneſs, we have now an opportunity of compenſating for the omiſſion, by aſking with greater fervency, what was too ſlighty paſſed over before.

Interlocutary Sentences.

From the recital of the Lord's Prayer we proceed to the interlocutary petitions, all of which except two are taken out of the pſalms. Whether it be entirely the effect of deſign, or ſomething muſt be attributed to accident, theſe verſicles are an epitome of the collects that regularly follow*. The duty of the congregation is to join in the one, and to liſten with attention to the other.

The two firſt, from Pſ. lxxxv. 7, containing general petitions for mercy and ſalvation, anſwer to the Sunday and weekly collects.—Mercy and preſervation from evil, temporal or eternal, both of which are included in the term ſalvation, are moſt commonly the ſubjects of theſe Collects. The two next, taken from Pſ. xx †., anſwe tó the prayers for the King's Majeſty and the Royal Family. The two following from pſ. cxxxii. 9, appear to have been part of the Jewiſh Liturgy, and were uſed by Solomon at the dedication of the temple. Theſe with the two ſucceeding verſicles, from Pſ. xxviii. 9, anſwer to the Collect for the clergy and people. The two next, taken proba-

* The Verſicles ſtood when ſeveral of the Collects were wanting. Hence I am diſpoſed to attribute ſomething to deſign, but more to accident, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the collects were purpoſely framed to ſuit the verſicles.

† See the laſt verſe of the ſep. verſion, and the vulgate.

bly from 1 Chron. xxii. 9, and Pſ. cviii. 12, anſwer to the daily morning and evening collects for peace; and the two laſt from Pſ. li. to the daily collects for grace.

Theſe ſentences are ſo ſignificant and comprehenſive, that it would not be an eaſy taſk to make a more judicious ſelection. Their meaning is ſo plain and obvious that they require no particular explication.

The prieſt is directed to *ſtand* during the repetition of the Verſicles. This Rubric was added in the ſecond book of Edward VI.—Standing is here no doubt a very proper attitude, but kneeling ſeems equally proper, and is more convenient to the miniſter *.

OF THE COLLECTS.

Collect is a term of great antiquity, having been mentioned by the writers of the third century. Whatever was its origial acceptation, it now ſignifies any ſhort comprehenſive prayer. In our own church ſince the reformation it more particularly denoted the prayer prefixed to the epiſtle and goſ-

* In the emendations propoſed by the commiſſioners of 1691, the miniſter is directed to kneel. (Birch's Tillotſon.) In our firſt Engliſh Liturgy he did kneel during the repetition of them, for there he is directed after they are ſaid to *ſtand up*, when he ſays *Let us pray*, before the firſt Collect. See note p. 259.

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pel at the adminiſtration of the Euchariſt *. Of its uſe in this ſenſe I ſhall give one inſtance, which will Elucidate a Rubric, that may at firſt ſight appear obſcure, in the office for the burial of the dead.

The laſt prayer before the benediction in this office is entitled "the Collect," whereas the prayer preceding it, "Almighty God with whom do live, "&c." which in the more general acceptation of the term is equally a collect, is not in the Rubric diſtinguiſhed by this name. The reader will obſerve, that the former of theſe prayers has the word *prieſt* before it, and that after it comes the *collect*. Now it is well known, that the latter prayer, allowing for a few ſlight variations, is the very ſame that was ordered by Elizabeth to be uſed as the collect before the celebration of the Lord's Supper at funerals. To remove dirges, and other popiſh abuſes, our reformers had ſtruck at the root of theſe evils. They had removed the occaſion of them, the celebration of the communion at burials. The Queen's proclamation however informs us, that notwithſtanding the act of uniformity to the contrary †, (paſſed in the firſt year

* Theſe Prayers are always called Collects. Yet in the more ancient church, the difference between a *prayer* and a *collect* was this: The *prayer (oratio)* was uſed before the ſacrament, whereas the *collect (collecta)* was ſaid in proceſſions. *(Honor. cap. 94.)* The prayers in proceſſions are with peculiar propriety called *collects*. *(Bilſt, de div. Off. ap. Durant.)*

† Peculiaria quædam in funebribus adjungi præcipimus, ſtatuto illo

year of her reign) *ſhe* had, in ſome caſes, ordered the revival of this ceremony. At length however the practice of communicating at funerals was finally dropt, and though the reſt of this ſervice was diſmiſſed, the prayer itſelf was wiſely retained. That it is retained with its former title, *the Collect*, was probably the effect of overſight, or accident.

Of the origin of the name of Collects ritualiſts have given various and apparently contradictory accounts. Yet if we remember, that different churches had different uſages*, and that the ſame church, in different ages, was not uniform in its practice, theſe various accounts will be found reconcileable, and may all probably be true.

1. Some ſay they were called collects, becauſe many diſtinct petitions are collected into one body, and united in one prayer.

2. Others think they took their name from being collected out of the Holy Scriptures, for the collects for Sundays and Holidays are for the moſt part taken out of the portions of Scripture appointed to be read as epiſtles and goſpels for

illo prædicto in contrarium non obſtante.——The epiſtle was 1 Theſſ. iv. beginning at ver. 13 to the end. The goſpel, either John vi. ver. 37 to 41, or John v. ver. 24 to 30. The ſervice was in Latin, and intended for the uſe only of the two Univerſities, and the colleges of Wincheſter and Eton. See the proclamation prefixed to *Celebratio cœnæ Domini in funebribus* in Sparrow's Collection.

* Addam pro Coronide, in divinis officiis maximam interceſſiſſe varietatem, pro diverſitate gentium, ac temporum. Durant. de Rit.

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the day *, or at leaſt they are generally accommodated to them.

3. Both theſe accounts, as far as they go, are reaſonable enough, but they are definitions of the preſent ſenſe of the word, rather than explications of the origin of the name. Eccleſiaſtical writers of great authority relate, as Caſſander has obſerved, that Collects derived their name from their being repeated in the *Stations* †, or religious aſ-

ſemblies

* We muſt not extend this propoſition too far. Many of our collects, epiſtles, and goſpels are retained from ancient miſſals, but often with a remarkable variation, which, in a few inſtances, I ſhall endeavour to deſcribe.—— On the *fourth* Sunday after *Trinity* our collect is the ſame with that of the *Miſſal*, for the third Sunday after *Penteceſt*; but the Epiſtle there is taken from Peter, and the Goſpel from Luke xv.—On our fifth Sunday the collect is the ſame with that for the fourth in the Miſſal; but there the Epiſtle is the ſame with that which we uſe on our third.—On the ſixth Sunday our Collect and Goſpel correſpond with thoſe for the fifth in the Miſſal: the Epiſtle there is the ſame with ours for the fifth.—Similar variations between our collects, epiſtles, and goſpels, and thoſe appointed by the miſſals, will be found throughout the greater part of the Sundays after Trinity, and on other days: whence I conclude that the account of the origin of the name of collects, given under the ſecond head, which our writers borrowed from the *Romaniſts*, cannot, on all occaſions, ſerve both parties.

† Stations at firſt meant the meetings of Chriſtians at the tombs of *martyrs*, *&c.*; and afterwards their aſſembling in other places for the purpoſe of performing public worſhip. In proceſs of time Wedneſday and Friday became ſtationary days. In *Litanical*, and other *proceſſions*, *ſtations* were appointed at certain churches, at one of which the people met, and then proceeded to another. On the meeting, and during the proceſſion, Collects were recited. This

laſt

ſemblies of the Roman church. On theſe occaſions, it was cuſtomary for the biſhop, or prieſt, after the *Introit*, when the people were collected, to recite prayers of this kind upon the collection of the people, or the people ſo collected. Hence by a little deviation from the original meaning, Collects became the general name of prayers conceived in this manner and form

4. But in ages more early than thoſe, of which the writers mentioned by Caſſander ſpeak, the Greek επισληστις, and the Latin, *collecta*, meant the collection, recapitulation, and recommendation, publicly made by the biſhop or prieſt, of the prayers, which had been privately offered up by the people †.—The private prayers were made by the people kneeling; the Collect, or public reca-

laſt is the practice here alluded to.——Illæ autem orationes ſpecialius collectæ vocari videntur, quæ apud Romanos ſupra collectam populi fiunt, dum colligitur ut procedat, de una eccleſia in aliam ad ſtationem faciendam. *Microl. ap Caſſand.*

* Populo poſt introitum jam collecto, ſuper illa populi collecta, ſeu populo collecto, ab epiſcopo, ſive ſacerdote recitari hujuſmodi orationes conſueverint; unde omnes orationes ad eam formam conſcriptæ, per quandam abuſionem, collectæ dicerentur. *Caſſ. de Collect. & Miſs.* p. 308.

† We have a form of one of theſe Collects, or recapitulations, in the apoſtolic conſtitutions. And a Gallican council (Con. Agathen. A. D. 506.) enacted, that when morning and evening ſervice was performed, the biſhop ſhould conclude with his collect, or recommendation, and then diſmiſs the people with a benediction.

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pitulation, was afterwards pronounced by the miniſter alone, the people all ſtanding *.

5. To me, ſays Caſſander, it appears not improbable, that all thoſe prayers, which were made at any meeting of the people, even in the morning and evening ſervice, were called Collects †. And it is certain, that the ancient church firſt called theſe prayers Collects, from their being uſed when the people were come together, and collected in religious aſſemblies ‡.

For general information on this ſubject I refer to the author laſt mentioned, and thoſe cited by him: borrowing here a few remarks on the compoſition, and more particularly on the concluſion of Collects.

* Caſſian ſpeaking of this cuſtom ſays, when he who collected the prayer roſe up, they all roſe up to accompany him who collected the prayer, or cloſed the whole with his concluding Collect. Caſſian. Inſt. lib. 11.

† At mihi non abſurde dici poſſe videtur *Collectas*, ſive quod idem valet *collectiones*, vocatas omnes illas orationes, quæ, non modo in celebratione ſacræ communionis, ſed in quavis ſynaxi, etiam matutina & veſpertina ſuper populo recitabantur. De Collect. & Miſſ.

‡ The meeting of Chriſtians was called *collecta*, and the act of meeting *colligere*. *Dies collectæ* was the day of meeting. *Collectam agere* in the Latin vulgate is to aſſemble.—*Collectam celebrare & colligere* often occur in the Latin fathers and eccleſiaſtical writers in the ſame ſenſe. In a comment found in many ancient copies of the *Ordo Romanus*, and publiſhed by Caſſander, one queſtion is, *Collecta* unde nuncupatur? the anſwer, Eo quod populus *colligitur* in unum. Our countryman Alcuinus ſays, Precationes a populi *collectione*, *collectæ* appellari cœperunt. See alſo Bona, Rer. Lit. p. 349, and Caſſand. Liturg. c. xvi.

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The Collects are generally addreſſed to the Father, agreeably to the precept of Chriſt, "When ye pray, ſay, Our Father, &c.," (Luke xi. 2,) and we conclude them through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in obedience to his command. "Hitherto have ye aſked nothing in my name: "Aſk and ye ſhall receive. Whatſoever ye ſhall "aſk of the Father in my name he will give it "you." (John xvi. 23, 24.) Hence we conclude moſt of our prayers *in the name of*, or *through our Lord*. Sometimes Collects are addreſſed to the Son, and in the concluſion we occaſionally commemorate each perſon of the bleſſed Trinity*.

The following rules concerning the variation of the concluſion of prayers or collects, are delivered by Caſſander, as commonly received by the Catholic church. Each rule I have illuſtrated by an example taken, not from the ancient collects retained in our Liturgy, but from ſuch as were compoſed ſince the reformation†. I began at Advent, and of the *new* Collects in our communion ſervice ſelected the firſt that occurred. In the ſix firſt, I found an example illuſtrative of the ſpirit of each of the five rules. Farther examination might have ſupplied more ſpecimens, but in this, as well as in other inſtances, farther proof was not wanting of what uniformly appears; I mean the piety and judgment of our reformers; and their attachment,

* Caſſander, p. 309, from Micrologus.

† The inſtances given by Caſſander could not with propriety be introduced. He refers to collects which are not found in our Liturgy.

and

and conformity to the approved practice of the ancient Catholic church.

Rule 1. When the prayer is addreſſed to the Father, and no mention is made of the Son, we ſay, "through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt;" As in the Collect for the ſecond Sunday in Advent, made in the year 1549.

2. When the Son is mentioned, we ſay, "through the ſame thy Son, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord;" As in the Collect for the circumciſion, compoſed in 1549.

3. When mention is made of the Son towards the *end* of the prayer, we ſay, "who with thee liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end;" As in the Collect for the ſixth Sunday after the Epiphany, made in 1662.

4. When the prayer is addreſſed to the Son, in the concluſion we ſay, "who liveſt and reigneſt with the Father and the Holy Spirit, ever one God;" As in the Collect for the third Sunday of Advent, compoſed in 1662.

5. When mention is made of the Holy Spirit, we ſay in the concluſion, "the ſame Spirit;" As in the Collect for Chriſtmas day, compoſed in 1549.

To theſe remarks on the introduction, and concluſion of prayers in general, I ſubjoin a table of the Collects for Sundays, and other holidays, as they now ſtand in our Liturgy; noting their origin, the time of their compoſition, and the principal variations they have undergone. The table, which was partly formed by Biſhop Coſens, and pub-

publiſhed by Dr. Comber, is divided into three compartments. The firſt conſiſts of the Collects retained from ancient Liturgies: The ſecond of ſuch as were taken from ancient models, but were conſiderably altered and improved by our reformers. The third, of ſuch as were compoſed anew, and ſubſtituted in the place of others, which, containing doctrines and poſitions that to our reformers ſeemed falſe, ſuperſtitious, or improper, were therefore rejected. By way of Appendix is inſerted a table, exhibiting the principal variations made in the Epiſtles and Goſpels at, and ſince, the reformation.

PART I.

Conſiſting of ſuch Collects as were retained from ancient Liturgies at the reformation.

Collects for	*Whence taken.*
4 Sunday in Advent	In ſome old offices for the firſt Sunday in Advent
St. John's Day	St. Greg. Sacr. and Gothic. Liturg. Mabillon, p. 198
The Epiphany	St. Greg. Sacr.
1, 2, and 3 Sun. after Eph.	Ibid. and St. Ambroſ. Liturg. Pamelius, Tom. I. p. 316.
5 Epiph.	St. Greg. Sacr.
Septuageſima	Ibid.
Sexageſima	Ibid.
2, 3, 4, 5 Sunday in Lent	Ibid.
6 Sunday in Lent	Ibid. But in St. Ambroſ. Lit. for Good Friday
Good Friday, the 3 Collects	They are in all offices with little variation; but are left out of the breviaries of Pius V. and Clem. VIII.

Eaſter

Collects for	*Whence taken.*
Eaſter Day	Greg. Sac. and a collect almoſt the ſame in the Gallic Lit. Mabil. p. 336
3 Sunday after Eaſter	St. Greg. Sacr. St. Ambroſ. Lit. Pamelius, p. 369
5 Sunday after Eaſter	St. Greg. Sacr.
Aſcenſion Day	Ibid.
Whitſunday	Ibid.
1 Sunday after Trinity	Ibid. This in ſome old offices is called the ſecond after Pentecoſt; in others the firſt after the octaves of Pentecoſt. See St. Amb. Lit. p. 369
The 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, after Trinity	Are all in St. Greg. Sacr.
The Purification	Ibid.
St. Michael's Day	Ibid.

The reader will obſerve, that the greater part of this claſs of Collects is found in Gregory's Sacramentary, which was compoſed before the year 600. All of theſe, therefore, are at leaſt 1200 years old, and many of them are much older. For Gregory did not originally form the offices. He only collected, and improved them*. To wave all other proof of this, we have his own teſtimony, given in vindication of his conduct. "I have followed," ſays he, "a practice common in the Greek church, and have altered ſome old Collects, and added ſome new and uſeful ones†." But the generality of the Collects in his Sacramentary he compiled from Liturgies, which, in *his* time, were eſteemed ancient.

* See Wal. Strab. de Reb. Ecc.

† Græcorum conſuetudinem ſecuti ſumus, qui aut veteres noſtras reparavimus, aut novas, & utiles conſtituimus.—Greg. Ep.

PART II.

Conſiſting of Collects, taken from ancient models, but conſiderably altered and improved by our Reformers, and the Reviewers of the Liturgy.

Collects for	*Time of Improvement.*	*How it ſtood before.*
St. Stephen's Day	Beginning added 1662	Grant us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies, &c.
4 Sund. Epiph.	End improved 1662	Grant to us the health of body and ſoul, that all thoſe things which we ſuffer for ſin, &c.
4 after Eaſter	Improved 1662	Who makeſt the minds of all faithful people to be of one will, &c.
Sunday after Aſcenſion	A little varied 1549	This had been of old the Collect for Aſcenſion Day, on which our venerable Bede repeated it as he was dying. Malms. l. 1. c. 3.
2 Sund. after Trinity	The order inverted 1662	Lord, make us to have a perpetual fear and love of thy holy name, for thou never faileſt, &c.
8 Sund. Trinity	Beginning improved 1662	Whoſe providence is never deceived, &c.
11 S. after Trinity	Improved 1662	That we running to thy promiſes, may be made partakers of thy heavenly treaſure, &c.
18 S. after Trinity	Improved 1662	To avoid the infections of the devil, &c.
19 S. after Trinity	Improved 1662	That the working of thy mercy may in all things, &c.

Collects

Collects for	*Time of Improvement.*	*How it ſtood before.*
St. Paul's Day	Improved 1549 and 1662	In the Breviaries * a new prayer was added, mentioning St. Paul's interceſſion; An. 1549 the old prayer alone out of Greg. Sac. was reſtored, which had *our walking after his example only*, which was a little varied an. 1662
The Annunciat.	Improved 1549	The breviaries had put in a new prayer about the B. Virgin's interceſſion, which was caſt out in 1549, and the form, being in St. Greg. Sac. Pamel. 211. reſtored.
St. Phil. and James	Improved 1662	As thou haſt taught St. Philip and the other Apoſtles, &c.
St. Bartholomew	Improved 1662	*To preach that which he taught, &c.* was altered, becauſe there is no writing of his extant.

Trinity Sunday — This Collect is no older than the Sacramentary aſcribed to Alcuinus. The old offices have another Collect for it, and call it the octave of Pentecoſt.

* Had Dr. Comber ſaid Miſſal inſtead of Breviary he would have been more correct. For though the collect of the day was uſed in the Breviary, yet it was taken from the Miſſal. Thus, in our Morning Prayer, the Rubric directs that the *firſt* collect, i. e. the collect of the day, "ſhall be the ſame that is appointed at the communion." By members of our church, and diſſenters, the *Breviary*, *Miſſal*, and *Ritual*, three very different books, are at preſent generally confounded. The *Breviary* contains mattins, lauds, &c. and if the reader conſiders it, as correſponding with our daily ſervice, he will not form a very erroneous opinion. The *Miſſal*, or Maſs Book, anſwers to "the order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper," together with "the collects, epiſtles, and goſpels to be uſed throughout the year." The *Ritual* is compoſed of occaſional offices, viz. baptiſm, matrimony, viſitation of the ſick, &c.

PART III.

Conſiſting of ſuch Collects as were compoſed anew, and ſubſtituted in the place of thoſe that, containing either falſe or ſuperſtitious Doctrines, were on this account rejected.

Collects for	*Compoſed in*
1 Sunday Advent.	1 Book of Edward VI. 1549
2 Sunday in Advent.	The ſame time
3 Sunday Advent.	1662
Chriſtmas Day.	1549
Circumciſion.	The ſame time
6 Sunday after Epiphany.	1662, before they repeated the Collect for the fifth Sunday
Quinquageſima.	1549
Aſh-Wedneſday.	The ſame time
1 Sunday in Lent.	The ſame time
Eaſter Even.	1662—No Collect for it ever before then
Eaſter Sunday.	The firſt ſentence (1 Cor. v. 7.) was added 1662
1 Sunday after Eaſter.	1549—Then it was uſed on Eaſter Tueſday, and in 1662 was fixed for this Sunday
2 Sunday after Eaſter.	An. 1549
St. Andrew's Day	An. 1552—2 Book of Ed. VI.
St. Thomas's Day St. Matthias St. Mark St. Barnabas St. John Baptiſt St. Peter St. James St. Matthew St. Luke St. Simon and Jude All Saints	All compoſed anew in 1549.

Yet in the compoſition of ſome of theſe Collects, the compilers appear to have had an eye to the Miſſals and the Breviaries. They have, in ſome

ſome inſtances, preſerved the introduction, and amplified or given a different turn to the petitions.

Many of the portions of Scripture, which we call Epiſtles and Goſpels, were, in the ancient church, ſelected for the Sundays and Holidays on which they are now uſed. In the works of the *fathers* there are homilies upon them, which are ſaid to have been preached on the very days, to the ſervice of which they are now appropriated. According to Dr. Comber, the following are the principal variations made at and ſince the reformation.

Epiſtles and Goſpels for	*Variations made*
St. John's Day.	1 John i. 1, by Edw. VI. inſtead of a leſſon out of Wiſdom
Sunday after Chriſtmas.	Goſp. Matt. i. 1, by Edw. VI. inſtead of Luke ii. In 1662 the Genealogies were left out
Circumciſion.	Ep. and Goſp. both changed by Edw. VI.
Epiphany.	Epiſt. Eph. iii. 1, by Edw. VI. inſtead of a paſſage out of Iſaiah
4 Sunday after Epiphany.	Ep. Rom. xiii. 1, by Edw. VI. before, the ſame with the firſt Sunday in Advent
6 Sunday after Epiphany.	Ep. and Goſ. both new, 1662
Monday before Eaſter.	Ep. and Goſ. new by Edw. VI. inſtead of an apocry. leſſon
Wedneſday before Eaſter.	Ep. Heb. ix. 16, by Edw. VI. inſtead of a leſſon out of Leveticus
Thurſday before Eaſter.	Goſ. Luke xxiii. by Edw. VI. inſtead of John xix.
Good Friday.	Goſ. John xix. Epiſt. Heb. ii. 1, by Edw. VI. inſtead of portions out of Hoſea and Exodus
Eaſter Even.	Ep. and Goſp. both new by Edw. VI. inſtead of two paſſages from the Old Teſtament
25 Sunday after Trinity.	Ep. and Goſ. both new, Ed. VI.
St. Thomas's Day.	Ep. Eph. ii. 19, by Ed. VI.
St. Mark's Day.	Ep. and Goſ. both new, Ed. VI.
St. Philip and Jacob.	Ep. and Goſ. both new, Ed. VI.
St. James's Day.	Ep. Acts xi. 27, by Ed. VI.

Epiſtles and Goſpels for	*Variations made*
St. Barnabas.	Ep. and Goſ. both new, Ed. VI.
St. Bartholomew.	Ep. and Goſ. both new, Ed. VI.
St. Matthew.	Ep. 2 Cor. iv. 1, by Ed. VI.
St. Luke.	Ep. and G. both new, Ed. VI.
All Saints' Day.	Ep. Rev. vii. 2, by Ed. VI. *

* There are ſome Epiſtles and Goſpels which are not in the Lectionary, but were changed in the Roman Breviary for the better. The reformers took theſe out of the Breviary, viz. the Goſpels for St. Thomas, St. James, and all Saints' Days; the Epiſtle for Simon and Jude; both Epiſtles and Goſpels for St. Paul, St. Matthias, and the Annunciation. (Dr. Comber here, probably in the moment of inadvertency, miſtakes the *breviary* for the *miſſal*. The *breviary* contains no part of the office of the *holy communion*. See note, p. 275. The Epiſtles and Goſpels alluded to above were taken from the *miſſals* in uſe at the time of the reformation: and they are retained without variation in more modern *miſſals*, as well as in our *book of the adminiſtration of the ſacraments*.)

The preceding table is fitted rather for the information of the inquiſitive, than for the benefit of the devout. For the uſe of the latter, I here inſert a common table of the Collects for Sundays and holidays arranged alphabetically, according to the different ſubjects of which they treat:

Affliction.

Prayers for deliverance from, and ſupport under Affliction.—Collects for the third Sunday after the Epiphany, eighth after Trinity, and fifth Sunday in Lent.

Angels.

For the guardianſhip of Angels—Collect for St. Michael.

Charity.—See Love.

Chaſtity.

For Chaſtity—Col. for the firſt Sunday in Lent.

Christ.

CHRIST.

For the imitation of Chriſt—Collects for the Sunday next before Eaſter, and the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter.

For the benefit of Chriſt's death—Collect for the Annunc.

CHURCH.

For the Univerſal Church—Collects for the fifth Sunday after Epiphany, the third Sunday after Eaſter, St. John the Evangeliſt, and the two firſt Collects for Good-Friday.

For the unity of the Church——Collect for St. Simon and St. Jude.

For the Peace of the Church—Collects for the fifth, ſixteenth, and twenty-ſecond Sundays after Trinity.

COMFORT.

For ſpiritual Comfort—Col. for the Sun. after the Aſcen.

CONTRITION.

For Contrition——Collect for Aſh-Wedneſday.

COVETOUSNESS.

Againſt Covetouſneſs—Collect for St. Matthew's Day.

COURAGE.

For Chriſtian Courage——Collect for St. John Baptiſt.

ENEMIES.

For deliverance from Enemies—Collect for the third Sunday in Lent.

EXAMPLE.

That we may follow the Example of Chriſt—Collects for the Sun. next before Eaſter, and the ſecond Sun. after Eaſter.

FAITH.

For a right and firm Faith—Collects for Trinity Sunday, St. Thomas, and St. Mark.

For Faith, Hope, and Charity—Collect for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity.

GRACE.

For Grace and Aſſiſtance in our Chriſtian Courſe—Collects for the fourth Sunday in Advent, ſecond in Lent, Eaſter-Day, third Sunday after Eaſter, and the firſt, ſeventh and thirteenth, after Trinity.

HEAVEN.

For Heavenly Deſires—Collect for Aſcenſion-Day

For admittance to the enjoyment of God in Heaven—Cols. for the Epiphany, the ſixth Sunday after Epiphany, and the Sunday after Aſcenſion.

HUMILITY.

For Humility and patience—Collect for the Sunday before Eaſter.

ILLUMINATION.

For Illumination, or a right Judgment in all things—Colls. for Whitſunday, firſt Sunday after Epiphany, and the ninth after Trinity.

JUDGMENTS.

For deliverance from Judgments—Cols. for Sep-

Septuageſima, Sexageſima, and the fourth Sunday in Lent.

LOVE.

For the Love of God and his laws——Collects for the fourth Sunday after Eaſter, and the ſixth, ſeventh, and fourteenth after Trinity.

For Love and Charity—Collect for Quinquageſima Sunday.

MINISTERS.

For the fitneſs of Miniſters——Collect for St. Matthias.

That they may be dilligent—Collect for St. Peter's Day.

That their labours may be ſucceſsful—Collect for the third Sunday in Advent.

MORTIFICATION.

For Mortification—Cols. for Circumciſion and Eaſter-Eve.

OBEDIENCE.

That we may obey, and follow the doctrine of the Apoſtles—Collects for the converſion of St. Paul, and St. John Baptiſt—See GOOD WORKS.

PRAYERS.

For the acceptance of our Prayers—Collect for the tenth Sunday after Trinity.

PROVIDENCE.

For Protection by God's Providence—Collects for the ſecond, third, fourth, and twentieth Sundays after Trinity.

PURITY.

PURITY.

For Purity of Heart—Collect for Purification.

REGENERATION.

For it—Collect for Chriſtmas-Day.

RELIGION.

That we may be truly religious—Collect for the ſeventh Sunday after Trinity.

SAINTS.

For the imitation of them—Collects for Innocents Day, St. Stephen, St. Philip, St. James, St. John Baptiſt, and All Saints.

SCRIPTURE.

Before reading the Scripture—Collect for the ſecond Sun. in Advent.

SIN.

For converſion from Sin—Collects for the firſt Sunday in advent, the firſt Sunday after Eaſter, St. Andrew, St. James, and St. Matthew.

For pardon of Sin—Collects for the twelfth, twenty-firſt, and twenty-fourth Sundays after Trinity.

SINCERITY.

For it—Collect for the third Sunday after Eaſter.

HOLY SPIRIT.

For the direction of the Holy Spirit—Collects for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, and fifth after Eaſter.

TEMPTATIONS.

For deliverance from, and ſupport under Temptations

tations—Collects for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, and the second in Lent.

THOUGHTS.

Againſt evil thoughts—Col. for the fifth Sun. after Eaſter.

UNBELIEVERS.

For Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics—The third Col. for Good-Friday.

GOOD WORKS.

For fruitfulneſs in Good Works—Collects for the fifth Sunday after Eaſter, and the firſt, ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, ſeventeenth, and twenty-fifth Sundays after Trinity.

OF THE SECOND COLLECT.

The title of this prayer is a Collect for peace. Peace is the happineſs of the earth and a type of heaven. All earthly bleſſings are nothing without it *, and in it all heavenly bleſſings are comprehended. Peace was the firſt legacy bequeathed to the world, through our bleſſed Redeemer, and peace was the laſt bequeſt of our dying Lord to his diſciples. That the world might be in peace was part of the daily prayer of the primitive

* Si non pax, nihil. Adag. Heb. ap Fabium.

Chriſtians *. What they practiſed in their lives, they petitioned at the throne of grace, and this for the Heathens †, among whom they lived, as well as for the church of God.—Thrice a day they prayed for peace ‡, and in imitation of their example, we are directed by our church to implore this bleſſing in both our morning and evening ſervices. Let our lives be conformable to our prayers: let us endeavour as much as poſſible to live peaceably with all men. In our prayers we claim our relation to the Almighty as ſons of the God of peace. And woe to us, if our actions invalidate the title, and manifeſt us to be the children of variance and ſtrife.

This Collect, copied with ſome little variation from a form in the Sacramentary of Gregory, is not more remarkable for its antiquity, than for its piety and comprehenſive brevity. Its ſentiments ſo briefly expreſſed in the original §, and expanded to advantage in the Engliſh tranſlation, may perhaps ſtill admit of illuſtration by a paraphraſe.—O God, from whom proceeds the bleſſing of peace, (Iſ. 45. 7.) who exhorteſt thy ſervants

* Orbem pacatum (Tertull. Apol.) obſecramus Deum pro tranquillitate mundi. (Cyp.)

† Pro gentium pace & ſalute. (Cyp.)

‡ Chryſoſt. Hom. iii. in iii. ad Coloſs.

§ Deus, auctor pacis et amator, quem noſſe vivere, cui ſervire regnare eſt, protege ab omnibus impugnationibus ſupplices tuos, ut qui in defenſione tua fidimus, nullius hoſtilitatis arma timeamus, per Jeſum Chriſtum, Dominum noſtrum; Amen.

to

to live in unity and godly love (2 Cor. xiii. 11.) in knowledge of whom everlaſting life and happineſs conſiſt, (John xvii. 3.) and whoſe ſervice is pleaſant as well as profitable, becauſe it is perfect freedom from the ſlavery of Satan and of ſin, (1 Cor. vii. 22, and John viii. 36.) graciouſly defend us, who humbly commit ourſelves to thy protection, from all the attempts of our adverſaries both ſpiritual and temporal, and grant that we who put our whole truſt and confidence in thy mercy, may be delivered from the fear of thoſe evils, which the craft and ſubtilty of the devil, or man worketh againſt us. Theſe bleſſings we implore through the merits and mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, who has deſpoiled the powers of darkneſs, (Col. ii. 15.) who is able to deliver us from every evil work, (2 Tim. iv. 18.) and whom we acknowledge to be our only Saviour, and Redeemer. Amen.

THE THIRD COLLECT.

This prayer is entitled a Collect for grace. Grace and Peace, which in holy Scripture are joined together, the church of England has not ſeparated in her daily devotions. She knows, that without grace there can be neither laſting nor real peace, and that peace without grace would prove no bleſſing. Peace, in the language of Scripture includes all temporal goods, plenty, proſperity, health, and happineſs *. But the enjoyment of

* Comprehendit χαιρειν, υγιαινειν, και ευπραττειν. Druſ. in Gen. xxix.

theſe

theſe is apt to lead men into forgetfulneſs of God, and expoſes them to numerous dangers and various temptations. Temporal bleſſings, if they do not occaſionally excite, always afford the opportunity of gratifying voluptuous appetites, and of indulging criminal pleaſures. It is grace alone that can enſure the comforts of genuine peace, and by petitioning for grace we improve our former requeſt. Grace being ſo eſſential to our happineſs, we addreſs ourſelves to the inexhauſtible fountain of grace, to him who is more ready to give than we to aſk, under the titles of our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlaſting God. Our heavenly Father, who pities and loves us, delights to do us good. He is Almighty, and therefore able to relieve us. His mercy, and ability we have no reaſon to doubt, for he changes not, but "is the "ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever." He is God from everlaſting to everlaſting, world without end. The care of the Church in prefixing to the Collects, Attributes, appropriate to the requeſts which they contain, has been already noticed. Thus, whilſt ſhe directs us, what we ought to pray for, ſhe cheers our hearts, and enlivens our devotions; adds wings to our petitions, and gives energy to our faith. The ſubſtance of this Collect was borrowed from an ancient form in the Eaſtern church. The ſenſe is ſo plain and clear, that to the comment already given, no particular paraphraſe need be annexed.

What

What has been remarked of the excellence and antiquity of this, and the preceding Collect, is likewiſe obſervable of the Collects in general. Indeed it is the honeſt boaſt of the church of England at home, and her praiſe abroad, that her Common Prayer "correſponds with the beſt and moſt ancient Liturgies, which were uſed in the church in the moſt primitive and pureſt times *." The original compilers, and the ſubſequent reviewers and improvers of our Liturgy were deſirous to preſerve not only the ſpirit, but as far as poſſible, the very form and ſubſtance of thoſe precious remains †. That the greater part of the Collects retained in the book of Common Prayer, were the production of the ancient fathers of the church is a conſideration which to the pious Chriſtian will afford ſatisfaction and delight. In the Collects and Prayers of the church, we offer up thoſe conſecrated devotions, which from the mouths and hearts of holy men, have, from age to age, aſcended like the incenſe up to heaven, and have been a more pleaſing and acceptable ſacrifice to the Almighty, than "thouſands of rams "and ten thouſands of rivers of oil."

* Directions to Commiſſioners in 1661.

† On this ſubject Renaudotius, in the firſt Diſſertation prefixed to the Collection of Oriental Liturgies, gives his teſtimony in theſe words. ANGLI SOLI, & *Lutherani*, veteres illas collectas ſervaverunt, plenas fidei & pietatis; quas Calviniſtæ, aliis a ſe excogitatis commutaverunt, verboſis ut plurimum, novitatemque redolentibus.

Here

Here, after the third Collect, ended the order of Morning Prayer from its firſt appearance in 1549, *to its laſt review in* 1661. *Till this latter era, the prayers that follow were placed near the end of the Litany, immediately after,* "*We humbly beſeech thee,*" *and after them ſtood the occaſional prayers and thankſgivings, all of which it would appear from the old books, made a part of the Litany*

PRAYERS AFTER THE THIRD COLLECT.

In the preceding Collects our ſupplications have in general been confined to the obtaining of bleſſings for ourſelves. In conformity to the exhortation delivered by St. Paul on a ſubject which he aſſures us is of primary importance, the church now proceeds to make prayers and interceſſions for all men, for kings and all that are in authority under them. The object and end of theſe interceſſions is, that we may, as men and citizens, lead quiet and peaceable lives, and as Chriſtians have our converſation in all godlineſs, honeſty, and ſobriety.

In the three Collects that follow, we pray for the whole body of the church, and for the different

* Still I think the prayers for the King's Majeſty, for the Queen, and Royal Family, and for the Clergy and People, were, before the laſt review, ſaid after the Morning Prayer, and were not uſed when the Litany was read.

members

members of it, in a proper gradation. Firſt, for the King's Majeſty: Secondly, for the Queen and Royal Family: and, Thirdly, for the clergy and people *.

PRAYER FOR THE KING'S MAJESTY.

The Chriſtian church, in all ages and places, has, in her public devotions, uniformly made prayers and interceſſions for the rulers and governors of the ſtate. This ſhe did, when they were enemies to the faith, and perſecutors of its profeſſors †. After the rulers of the world embraced Chriſtianity, they were mentioned by name in the public prayers. Not only the names, but the titles of Chriſtian kings were inſerted in the ancient Liturgies, where they were never ſpoken of, but

* In this gradation the church of England, probably out of reſpect for its "Supreme *Head* upon earth," has deviated a little from the more ancient and general cuſtom, which was, to mention firſt, the biſhops and clergy; then the prince and the imperial houſe; and laſtly, the people.

† Scitote ex literis noſtris præceptum eſſe nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, & perſecutoribus noſtris bona precari. (Tert. Apol.) Nos pro ſalute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum. Denique ſine monitore (among the Heathens a monitor dictated the prayers from a book, that nothing might be forgotten) ſine monitore, quia de pectore oramus pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium ſecurum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, ſenatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum. (Ibid. c. 30.)—Oramus pro imperatoribus, pro miniſtris eorum, pro rerum quiete. (Ibid.)

in terms expreſſive of affection, and moſt honourable reſpect *. Loyalty to her king is the boaſt, and the glory of the church of England. The ſpirit of Chriſtian Loyalty breathes in her devotional offices, and has ever been diſplayed in the lives of her ſons.

This prayer conſiſts principally of two parts; the introduction and the petitions.—The introduction, expreſſed in ſublime and appropriate titles, is a noble confeſſion of our faith, that God is the ſupreme governor of the world, and that his providence extends over all the inhabitants of the earth. It is at the ſame time an argument for confidence, that we ſhall obtain our requeſts. We addreſs God, as "our Lord and heavenly father, "high and mighty, king of kings, Lord of Lords, "the only ruler of princes, who from his throne "beholds all the dwellers upon earth;" and beſeech him to behold with the eyes of his favour our lawful monarch and moſt gracious ſovereign Lord, King GEORGE: more particularly requeſting God to grant him ſpiritual grace, heavenly gifts, temporal proſperity, and everlaſting felicity.

* In ſome Liturgies we find theſe expreſſions. The king, the king appointed to reign, the king by thy juſt judgment, &c. In theſe and all inſtances where nothing is ſaid in praiſe of his faith, &c. Pagan, or Mahometan monarchs are meant. When Chriſtian princes are ſpoken of, the titles, moſt religious, pious, Chriſtian, faithful, &c., are applied. Hence, it is ſaid, we may commonly diſcover whether a Liturgy has been compoſed or uſed under an Infidel, or a Chriſtian king. See Renaudot. Lit Orient.

Under

Under temporal proſperity the prayer includes victory over his enemies; "that he may vanquiſh "and ſubdue all his enemies." By the enemies of the eſtabliſhed church, this and ſimilar paſſages in our Liturgy have been miſrepreſented, as recommending aggrandizement and conqueſt. On Chriſtian principles, the church muſt preſuppoſe, that Chriſtian princes will engage in no wars, which are not undertaken in juſt and neceſſary defence.—She knows, that all war, excepting in caſes of unjuſt aggreſſion from abroad, or unneceſſary reſiſtance to the meaſures of government at home, is equally repugnant both to the letter and ſpirit of the religion taught by JESUS CHRIST. In her offices day by day ſhe prays for peace. In her Litany, or general ſupplication, thrice a week, ſhe deprecates war, and from "battle and murder" entreats deliverance. Whenever ſhe prays for a bleſſing on the arms of her ſovereign, and for victory over all his enemies, ſhe muſt be underſtood to pray for the ends of victory: The preſervation of the lawful and juſt rights of his Majeſty, and of theſe Realms, deliverance from the power of enemies, and the reſtoration of quietneſs and peace *.

The

* The five following paſſages promiſcuouſly taken from Renaudot's Collection of Oriental Liturgies, will elucidate the meaning of the church of England, wherever ſhe prays for a bleſſing upon the arms of her ſovereign. ——— Præſta memoriam bonam regibus & reginis Deum timentibus; *da illis victoriam adverſus eos, qui bello illos aggrediuntur.* Tom. II. p. 462. ——— Memento, Domine, piorum regum noſtrorum; apprehende arma & ſcutum, & ſurge in auxilium

The prayer appears to be selected from ancient Liturgies, and in particular from the Sacramentary of Gregory †. It was first added to our book of Common Prayer in the reign of Elizabeth, and in the sealed books is entitled "a Prayer for " the blank being left to be filled from time to time as circumstances may require by the privy council, agreeably to the act of uniformity, passed in the reign of Charles II.

eorum—*Subjice illis hostes omnes, ut placidam, tranquillamque vitam agamus, in omni timore Dei, &c.* Lit. S. Jacob.——*Ut victores & triumphatores appareant adversus inimicos crucis.*——*Pugna pro iis (regibus fidelibus) adversus inimicos; lupos, atque tyrannos, qui avide, frendent dentibus contra oves gregis tui sancti, perde & dissipa.* Lit. Jac. Edess.——*Da illis victoriam & triumphum de illis qui eos oderunt, immitte pacem cordibus eorum, ut cum timore & puritate gubernent gregem tuum.* Lit. Ignat.

† I quote at length the prayer in Gregory's Sacramentary for the purpose of shewing how the compilers improved what they imitated, and that this prayer is not taken almost verbatim from Gregory, as some writers on our Liturgy have asserted.

Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui es fons immarcessibilis lucis, & origo perpetuæ bonitatis, regum consecrator, honorum omnium attributor, dignitatumque largitor, cujus ineffabilem clementiam votis omnibus exoramus, ut famulum tuum, (A. B.) quem regalis dignitatis fastigio voluisti sublimari, sapientiæ, cæterarumque virtutum ornamentis facias decorari: & quia tui est muneris quod regnet tuæ pietatis quod id feliciter agat; quatenus in fundamento spei, fidei, charitatisque fundatus, peccatorum labe absterstus, de visibilibus & invisibilibus hostibus triumphator effectus; cum jugis prolis felici effectu letificatus, subjecti populi augmento, prosperitate, & securitate exhilaratus, cum iis mutua connexione connexus, & transitorii regni gubernacula inculpabiliter teneat, & ad æterni infinita gaudia, te miserante, perveniat, per Jesum Chrystum, &c.

PRAYER

PRAYER FOR THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Interceſſions for the Royal Family are authoriſed by the practice of the ancient Chriſtians, who prayed for the welfare of the palace and the imperial houſe *. This prayer was added to our Liturgy under James I., before whom no proteſtant ſovereign had iſſue. At its firſt appearance it began "Almighty God, which haſt promiſed to be "a father to thine elect and their ſeed." Theſe words were perhaps thought too favourable to Calviniſtic opinions, for they were afterwards expunged. The preſent introduction, "Almighty "God, the fountain of all goodneſs," was borrowed from an ancient Saxon prayer, which is ſaid to have been compoſed for the coronation of a Queen.

In the compoſition of this, as well as of the preceding prayer, the compilers ſeem to have had an eye to that in Gregory's Sacramentary quoted in the oppoſite page. Though the prayers for "the King's Majeſty" and "the Royal Family" differ in expreſſion, the petitions of both are nearly the ſame. The bleſſings we here implore for our gracious Queen CHARLOTTE, their Royal Highneſſes GEORGE Prince of Wales, and the Princeſs of Wales, and all

* Pro piiſſimo imperatore, omnique palatio. (Lit. Baſ. & Chryſ.) Domum tutam. (Tert.) Pro imperatore cum ſua prole orationes & oblationes agantur. (Conc. Rheim.)

the Royal Family, are, divine grace, happineſs upon earth, and everlaſting glory in the kingdom of heaven.

PRAYER FOR THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE.

After praying for the King, and the different branches of the Royal Family, the church now proceeds to pray for all men, for the whole Chriſtian world, deſcribed here by "biſhops, curates, and all congregrations committed to their charge." This diviſion correſponds with that of the ancient church in which theſe degrees are enumerated and prayed for. In the ancient liturgies, patriarchs, metropolitans, arch-biſhops, and the biſhop of the dioceſe were mentioned by name, as the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales, are in our ſervice.—The Biſhops are the guides and governors of the church of Chriſt. With the higheſt dignity they have the weightieſt charge. By being advanced above all, they become the ſervants of all *. They are entruſted with the power of chuſing and ordaining miniſters. They ſtand ſolemnly engaged by their ordination and conſecration vows to preach the word, and miniſter godly diſcipline, to baniſh erroneous doctrines, and as far as their ability extends to correct and puniſh public crimes †. Their arduous employment is, to promote the peace of the church, and the intereſts of

* Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei.

† See the office of the conſecration of a biſhop.

true

true religion, by OVERSEEING both the clergy and the people.—On them, in their reſpective dioceſes, lies the daily care of all the churches: beſides their avocations in the great council of the nation, where, as peers of the realm, they are employed in ſettling and adjuſting affairs of the higheſt importance to the intereſts both of church and ſtate.

If we duly conſider what accompliſhments, and what exertions are requiſite for the performance of the duties of their high ſtation, and for the faithful diſcharge of the great and ſacred truſt repoſed in them, we ſhall naturally exclaim with the apoſtle, "Who is ſufficient for theſe things?" And in our daily prayers ſhall moſt earneſtly and devoutly implore the ſalutary ſpirit of the divine grace, and the continual help of God's bleſſing for every member of this ſacred order, and more eſpecially for our own Dioceſan.

After the Biſhops we pray for Curates. By the word curates, the church does not mean in particular to deſcribe what the term now generally imports, aſſiſtant curates, who for a ſtipend ſometimes irregularly paid, and ſeldom equal to the wages of an ordinary mechanic, perform all the duties of a parochial miniſter. Theſe indeed need our prayers, and their caſe demands aſſiſtance of another kind *. But by curates the church means all thoſe to whom the biſhop, as chief paſtor under

* Since this was written. "An Act for the better Support and Maintenance of Curates" has been paſſed.

Chriſt, has committed the *cure*, or care of ſome part of his flock. Their office is to catechiſe the young, to inſtruct the ignorant, to encourage the good, to reprove the wicked, to help the weak-hearted, to comfort the afflicted, to relieve the diſtreſſed, to viſit the ſick, to preſent the prayers of the congregation, to preach the word of God, to adminiſter the holy ſacraments, and to perform the other rites and ceremonies appointed by the church. They are required, not only to be diligent in teaching, exhortation, and prayer; and in the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures; but they are likewiſe to ſhew themſelves a pattern of all Chriſtian virtues and graces, that, both by their doctrine and example, they may be a means of ſaving the ſouls of thoſe committed to their charge. When we reflect upon the extent and importance of the ſacred office, we ſhall require no farther conſiderations to induce us to pray for the clergy, as well knowing that without the grace of God aſſiſting his labours, the beſt endeavours of the ableſt miniſter of the Goſpel, will be unprofitable and vain. Even St. Paul himſelf, though poſſeſſing every poſſible qualification for the due diſcharge of the work of the miniſtry, was ſo ſenſible of his own inſufficiency, that we find him repeatedly beſeeching the churches to whom he addreſſed his epiſtles, "to pray for him, to pray that "utterance might be given unto him to make "known the myſtery of the Goſpel." (Eph. vi. 19, Col. iv. 3.) And notwithſtanding all his perſeverance

ſeverance and labour in the vineyard of Chriſt, he makes this modeſt and virtuous confeſſion "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increaſe." (1 Cor. iii. 6.)

In the laſt place we pray for the people, of whom it is required that they be open to inſtruction, willing to learn God's word, deſirous to practiſe it, and diſpoſed to do their duty in their reſpective ſtations and callings.—For theſe different orders, of which the community conſiſts, we beg an eſpecial bleſſing of God, beſeeching him that he would ſend down the gracious influence of his holy ſpirit, like dew, into our hearts, to quicken the ſeed that is ſown, that it may bring forth the fruits of a virtuous and godly life. This we aſk not with a deſign to advance our own glory, but for the manifeſtation of the glory of our advocate and mediator who has purchaſed theſe bleſſings for us, and whoſe name is magnified by the increaſe of his church, and the ſalvation of mankind.

The objection ſtarted by ſome againſt the propriety of the introductory words, "who alone "workeſt great marvels," proves in the objectors, either unbecoming levity, or deplorable ignorance of the language of Holy Scripture. Have we not heard with our ears, and have not our fathers told us, what marvellous works the Lord has wrought for his church? At the firſt planting of the Goſpel, the apoſtles were inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt,

and endowed with the miraculous power of healing, of propheſying, and ſpeaking in unknown tongues. And though the operations of the Holy Spirit are not ſo viſibly manifeſted, yet his aſſiſtance is as requiſite, and will as ſurely be communicated now, as it was in the time of the apoſtles. The converſion of ſinners, by what ſome call the fooliſhneſs of preaching, is perhaps as great a miracle, as that of creating light out of darkneſs. To conceive aright the efficacy of the divine word, we muſt conſider what man is by nature, and what he becomes by the power of grace: Now man in Scripture is ſaid to be like a wilds aſs's colt, (Job. xi. 12.) untamed, untractable in his diſpoſition, and as the apoſtle aſſures us, "not "ſubject to the law of God, neither indeed can "be." (Rom. viii. 7.) It is grace alone that corrects the depravity of our nature, ſubdues our unruly affections, and makes us the proper ſubjects of divine diſcipline and culture. By converſion we are taken, as it were, out of our natural ſoil, and tranſplanted into the garden of God*, where we require "the healthful ſpirit of his "grace," to make us vegetate and flouriſh, and the dew of the divine bleſſing, to enable us to bring forth the fruits of a good life. But this can only be effected by the influence of God's holy ſpirit; and therefore when we addreſs him for the conſtant and daily ſupplies of his grace we invoke

* Philo calls *man a celeſtial plant, whoſe root ſprings from Heaven.*

him

him as the author of miracles, the God who "alone doeth wonders *, who firſt conducted us through the waters of baptiſm, as through the waves of the Red Sea, and continues to ſupport and nouriſh us with that ſpiritual food, which deſcends like Manna † from heaven.

The model from which this prayer was taken is found in Gregory's Sacramentary. The prayer does not appear in either of Edward's books, though it ſtands in the breviary of Sarum, and is annexed to the Litany in ſome of Henry's primers. It was inſerted in the firſt year of Elizabeth.

PRAYER OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

From the preceding obſervations, it has already appeared, that the venerable compoſers of our Liturgy were not influenced by that vain affectation of novelty, by which more modern reformers ſeem to have been actuated. Where ancient offices afforded them forms of prayer, ſuited to their circumſtances, theſe forms they took as models in the compoſition of their work, reſerving to themſelves the liberty of making ſuch alterations, additions, and improvements, as they conceived to

* Song of Moſes. Exod. xv. 11.

† Manna was itſelf probably formed of dew, and both are intended as natural emblems of the divine grace, which like dew diſtils in a ſecret and inviſible manner.

be

be proper, This is called the prayer of St. Chryſoſtom, becauſe it is almoſt literally taken out of a Greek Liturgy, commonly aſcribed to him *. The church of England adopted it, and placed it here, not knowing where to find a prayer, or perſons able to compoſe a prayer, more excellent, or better adapted to the concluſion of the daily ſervice.

The preface contains two grounds and reaſons for hoping, that our prayers will be accepted: our preſent experience of God's grace, which has enabled us unanimouſly and devoutly to make our common, that is, our united, ſupplications unto him. He who gave us this grace, we humbly truſt, will grant our requeſts. But that we may not quit the throne of grace, till all doubt of the efficacy of our petitions is removed, we urge the infallible promiſe of him who is the life and the truth, in whom all the promiſes of God are YEA and AMEN, and who has aſſured us, that when two or three are gathered together in his name, he will grant their requeſts. We beg him to fulfil the deſires of our hearts, and the petitions of our lips; but with this reſerve, only ſo far as his infinite wiſdom knows it expedient for us, learning from his example to ſubmit our will to the will of

* It may be neceſſary to inform ſome readers, that this prayer does not occur in any of the works of Chryſoſtom, which the learned admit to be genuine. Yet the prayer is certainly very ancient; and might be the production of Chryſoſtom.

God.

God. For two things however, without any apprehenſion of appearing arrogant, or preſumptuous, we poſitively and importunately pray; the knowledge of all neceſſary religious truth in this world; and when we paſs out of this world into the world to come, life everlaſting: Being fully aſſured, that if theſe two points, the knowledge of God here, and the enjoyment of him hereafter, be ſecured, every thing elſe is comparatively of little value *.

This, with ſome other prayers in our Liturgy, is not, like the greater part of the prayers, addreſſed to the Father, but to the Son, to Jeſus Chriſt, our redeemer and mediator.—On this account the concluſion is different from that of the prayers in general †.

THE BENEDICTION.

In their religious aſſemblies it was the cuſtom of the Jewiſh churches to diſmiſs the congregation with a final bleſſing, which was ſolemnly uttered by the prieſt, and received with the utmoſt reverence by the people. For this purpoſe the church of England has here and in ſome of the other offices, adopted, with two variations, the words of

* The prayer in the original language is the ſame with that in the common Greek tranſlation of our Liturgy, excepting only that we have added two introductory words. It begins "Thou that haſt given us grace," &c.

† On the concluſion of collects and prayers, ſee p. 271.

St. Paul,

St. Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. 14. In conſequence of turning the words addreſſed by Paul to men, into an addreſs to God, *you* was neceſſarily changed into *us*, and the word *evermore* was added.

It is not ſtrictly a Benediction, or bleſſing. It is rather an interceſſionary prayer, wherein the prieſt implores a bleſſing for himſelf, as well as for the congregation. Though it is pronounced by the miniſter alone, the congregation ought mentally to addreſs it to God.—The church has made it, and calls it a prayer *, and therefore the miniſter is directed to kneel. In this prayer, the miniſter commits himſelf and the people, to the care and protection of the ever-bleſſed Trinity, beſeeching God, who is three perſons in one nature, that the grace obtained by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the redemption may abſolve us, that the love of the Father, who is now reconciled through his blood, may juſtify us; and laſtly that by partaking of the communication of the Holy Ghoſt we may be ſanctified.

Though the Apoſtle's Benediction is not literally copied from the Benediction ordained by God himſelf under the law: (Numb. vi. 23.) yet it virtually agrees with it. "On this wiſe ſhall ye bleſs the children of Iſrael, ſaying unto them,

"The Lord bleſs thee and keep thee:

The Lord make his face to ſhine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:

* See the Rubric before the prayer for the King.

The

The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."

And this ancient form of benediction, in which the name of Jehovah is repeated three times, and in the Maſoretic copies with a different accent each time, is, by the Jews themſelves, ſuppoſed to contain a divine myſtery *. The pious Chriſtian will without heſitation, and with reverence, acknowledge that it contains a direct alluſion to the perſons of the ever-bleſſed Trinity, to the Father, that he may bleſs and keep us; to the Son, that he may make his face to ſhine upon us, and be gracious to us; and to the Holy Ghoſt, that he may lift up the light of his countenance upon us, and give us peace both now and evermore.

ON SINGING PSALMS.

Pſalmody, as we have already obſerved, conſtituted a principal part of the public worſhip of the primitive Chriſtians. It was likewiſe uſual for the people, before the ſervice began, and during any ſuſpenſion that took place, to exerciſe

* For a more particular explication of this remarkable text, ſee Patrick's Comment. and Hermannus Witſius Miſc. Sacr. lib. ii. Diſſert. ii. p. 518.

them-

themſelves in Pſalmody *. In our church it is cuſtomary to ſing a few ſtanzas of one of the two authoriſed tranſlations of the pſalms, after the Morning Prayer and Litany are ended, and again, before the Sermon. In theſe inſtances, the introduction of pſalmody is proper, and, to a certain degree, neceſſary. Without ſomething of this kind, the tranſition from the Litany to the office of the Holy Communion; and from the Nicene Creed to the Sermon, might appear too ſudden and abrupt. The intervention of a portion of a pſalm will likewiſe relieve the attention, and remove the languor, that may occaſionally ariſe from including in one ſervice three entire offices †, which were originally diſtinct, and performed at different hours ‡.

The ſinging of pſalms, in itſelf a pleaſing and affecting part of divine worſhip, is, in ſome places, performed in ſo cold and phlegmatic a way, by the dull drone of the pariſh clerk, as to be rendered entirely uſeleſs: and in others, the boiſterous and oſtentatious clamour of what is called the band of ſingers may excite diſguſt, but cannot aſſiſt devotion. Though I am far from re-

* Quando non eſt tempus, cum in eccleſiâ fratres congregantur, ſancta cantandi, niſi cum legitur, aut communis oratio indicitur? Aug. Ep. 119.

† Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion.

‡ The Morning Prayer was ſaid at ſix, the Litany about nine, and the office of the Holy Communion at a conſiderable diſtance of time after the Litany.

garding

garding the ſinging of pſalms as one of the moſt eſſential or principal parts of our Sunday ſervice, yet, as nothing which contributes to the decency of the public worſhip of God, or has a tendency to raiſe or keep up devout affections, can be conſidered as a matter of ſmall importance, I ſhall here throw together a few hints on the ſubject of parochial pſalmody *.

1. It might be proper for all the congregation to ſtand during the ſinging of the pſalm. This practice, though enjoined by no rule, and probably contrary to the more ancient uſage of the church of England †, violates no Rubric, and is conſonant to the order of the other parts of the daily ſervice. When the pſalms are *read*, the congregation is directed to *ſtand*. Why ſhould they *ſit*, when the pſalms are *ſung*? Whether *Te Deum* is ſung or ſaid, the people are enjoined to

* Amplifications on moſt of theſe hints may be found in *Biſhop Gibſon's excellent Uſe of Pſalmody; Mr. Warton's Eſſay on Pſalmody; and Dr. Vincent's valuable Tract* on the ſame ſubject.

† "It was not *then* (at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth) the cuſtom, nor has been ſince, for the people to ſtand up whilſt the Pſalms were ſinging in pariſh churches." (See Biſhop Fleetwood's Letter about *New Ceremonies*, p. 723, of his works.) The Biſhop objects to the practice of ſtanding principally on theſe two grounds: "(1) it is an innovation, (2) intended merely to make a farther difference between thoſe who were of different parties with reſpect to the king and ſtate affairs." But it has now no connection with politics, being intended for ſhewing more reverence, and exciting greater devotion: and, if it is an *innovation*, it is likewiſe a *reform*, and an *improvement*.

ſtand. Te Deum is one of the fineſt hymns, that was ever compoſed by man; but is not equal reverence, at leaſt, due to the pſalms?

The propriety of ſtanding, during the ſinging of the pſalms, was ſuggeſted in the beginning of the preſent century. But the propoſition being made by *private men*, and *without authority*, the practice was rarely adopted. It has, however, of late been recommended by the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge *; and muſt, of courſe, be preſumed to meet with the approbation of our ordinaries, for moſt of the Biſhops are members of this Society.

2. The ſinging of pſalms ſhould not be confined to a ſelect band, nor to a ſmall part of the con-

* See a Paper, diſperſed by the Society, "On the Reverence required in ſinging Pſalms." In it, this ſentence occurs: "One of the Fathers (St. Baſil) deſcribing the practice of the church in his time, ſays, *the people riſing from prayer, ſtand up to ſing pſalms.*" I ſuſpect the paſſage referred to is the following: Ὁ λαος——ανασταντες των προσευχων, εις την ψαλμωδιαν καθιστανται; and I think the argument totally irrelative. Baſil had no conception of the modern diſtinction between *reading* and *ſinging pſalms*. But the paſſage proves that the recitation of pſalms followed the confeſſion in the church of Neo-Ceſarea in the time of Baſil, as it does now in the daily ſervice of the church of England. He ſays the people made a ſolemn penitential confeſſion, [See his words quoted p. 24] and afterwards, riſing up from prayer, proceeded to pſalmody. They formed or arranged themſelves, (καθιστανται) probably by dividing into two oppoſite choirs, (ſee p. 182) which alternately chaunted, or ſung in recitative, ſhort portions of the pſalms, much in the ſame manner as the verſes are now alternately read by the miniſter and people,

grega-

gregation; but all that can ſing, ſhould join in the melody.

3. The pſalms ſhould be ſung with modeſty and humility: all vociferous roar and ſquall ſhould be utterly baniſhed.

4. Every attempt at intricacy of execution, all complex air, with whatever is difficult, or carries the appearance of art, ſhould be diſcouraged. I mean more particularly where the people are not ſkilled in the ſcience of muſic. Simple melodies are the moſt eaſily performed; and to the ſubjects of ſacred poeſy ſimplicity is moſt ſuitable.—"Religious harmony," ſays Collier, "ſhould be "moving, but noble, grave, ſolemn, and ſera-"phic; fit for a martyr to play, and an angel to "hear." The plainer tunes ought therefore to be ſelected: ſuch are the notes of the 100th pſalm, of which Luther is ſaid to have been the author; and of the old 104th, compoſed by Handel.—Twelve or fifteen of the moſt approved and familiar melodies of this deſcription might afford ſufficient variety in ordinary country congregations.

5. The ſelection of proper portions of the pſalms is, perhaps, not leſs neceſſary than the ſelection of proper muſic. The choice of theſe cannot with ſafety be committed to every pariſh clerk. On this ſubject, therefore, the miniſter might be conſulted *.

6. The

* My practice has been to diſtribute among the occupiers of pews, and the poorer ſort of people that frequent the church, "Extracts

6. The organ, conſidered merely as an accompaniment to the voice, is a valuable acquiſition. Whilſt it regulates the ſinging, it encourages the modeſt and diffident to join in the pſalmody. Where there is no organ, the want cannot be ſupplied by any other kind of inſtrumental muſic. Violins, baſſoons, flutes, &c. ought to be entirely excluded.

from the new Verſion of the Pſalms." The extracts are compriſed in about 100 pages, and each page contains a portion ſufficient to be ſung at one time. They are ſold by the *Rivingtons*, and are in the liſt of books printed for *the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge.*

A

CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL

ELUCIDATION,

&c.

OF

THE ORDER FOR

EVENING PRAYER

DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

THE order for Evening Prayer, I hardly need obſerve, is nearly ſimilar to that of the Morning*: I ſhall therefore confine my remarks to thoſe parts in which it differs. Of theſe, the firſt of any importance are the

HYMNS AFTER THE LESSONS.

After the firſt Leſſon at Evening Service, follow two Hymns, either of which the miniſter may uſe.

* The council of Laodicea, held ſoon after the middle of the fourth century, decrees, that the ſame prayers ſhall be read in the Morning that were read in the Evening. Can. 18.

The former is entitled *Magnificat*, and the latter *Cantate Domino*, in conſequence of their beginning with theſe words in the Latin verſion.

Magnificat, or the Song of the Bleſſed Virgin.

This pious and affecting hymn is recorded in the firſt chapter of the Goſpel of St. Luke. It was ſpoken by the Virgin Mary on being addreſſed by her couſin Elizabeth, as the mother of our Saviour. Though the language of the hymn is highly figurative, yet the terms are ſo clear and intelligible as to require no particular explanation. It conſiſts of a general thankſgiving, expreſſive of praiſe and gratitude to God, for his peculiar mercies vouchſafed to the Virgin, as the mother of our Lord: for all his goodneſs, and loving kindneſs, diſplayed in the acts of his providence; and more eſpecially for the redemption of the world, promiſed to the patriarchs and now on the eve of being fulfilled, by the birth of the Meſſiah.

Between this Hymn of the Virgin, and the Song of Hannah, recorded in the firſt book of Samuel, there is a conformity of expreſſion and ſentiment, not leſs remarkable than the ſimilarity of circumſtances under which they were uttered. The chief difference ſeems to be, that Hannah's Song is conceived in a higher and more exalted ſtrain, in terms correſponding with the ſublime effuſions of the

the ancient prophets; while *Magnificat* more reſembles the ſimple, but expreſſive, language of the evangelical writers. This conſonance of character and circumſtance in the two hymns, points out a relation between the perſons of the child Samuel and the child Jeſus; of whom it is teſtified by their reſpective hiſtorians, in a ſimilar correſpondence of language, that they "increaſed "in wiſdom and ſtature," and "in favour both "with God and man." 1 Sam. ii. 26. Luke ii. 52.

In the perſon of Chriſt, the types and predictions of the law and the prophets were finally accompliſhed. The recitation therefore of this hymn, with propriety, ſucceeds the firſt Leſſon, which is taken out of the books of the Old Teſtament, and generally contains ſome circumſtance of hiſtory, or prophecy, that has a direct relation to the events of the Goſpel. So early as the beginning of the ſixth century, *Magnificat* was ſung in the daily ſervice of the weſtern church *, and it is ſtill retained in the evening offices of reformed churches upon the continent †, as well as in our own.

Cantate Domino, or the Ninety-eighth Psalm.

This pſalm, though probably compoſed in conſequence of ſome victory obtained by David, is a

* Mabill. de Lit. Gall. † Durell's View.

form of praiſe and thankſgiving perfectly ſuitable to a Chriſtian aſſembly. Viewing it, as referring to the times of the Meſſiah, we behold the pſalmiſt extolling the miraculous ſalvation which God has wrought for his church; and celebrating, in the moſt animated ſtrains, the righteouſneſs, mercy, and truth of our redeemer. He calls upon all the earth, and even the inanimate parts of the creation, to break forth into joy, and to ſing praiſes to their creator. The ſubject of this general joy is the coming of our Saviour "to judge the world "with righteouſneſs, and the people with equity." Between *Cantate Domino* and *Magnificat*, there is a degree of reſemblance not much inferior to that which we have already noticed, between *Magnificat* and the Song of Hannah. This reſemblance, however, is confined to the firſt four verſes of *Cantate*, which approach ſo near to the general turn of ſentiment in *Magnificat*, as to induce a belief that the latter was borrowed from the introductory part of the former, the prediction of the pſalmiſt being applied by the Virgin to its proper accompliſhment in the Goſpel diſpenſation. *Cantate Domino* is rarely uſed as a hymn after the firſt Leſſon; and yet, where that treats of any extraordinary inſtance of divine protection and mercy, *Cantate* ſeems more proper than *Magnificat*. It is upon this ground, no doubt, that *Cantate* has been frequently enjoined to be uſed, inſtead of *Magnificat*, in our occaſional

forms

forms of thankſgiving. — *Cantate Domino* was added to the Liturgy in the ſecond book of Edward.

Hymns after the Second Lesson.

After the ſecond evening leſſon, we are likewiſe preſented with two hymns, and allowed to uſe either. The former is entitled *Nunc dimittis*, and the latter *Deus miſereatur*, from their Latin initials.

Nunc dimittis, or the Song of Simeon.

The author of this beautiful little hymn was the aged Simeon, a juſt and devout man, who waited for the conſolation of Iſrael, and to whom, by the ſpirit of prophecy, it was revealed, that he ſhould not ſee death before he had ſeen the Lord's anointed. Directed by the Spirit, Simeon came into the temple; and when the parents brought in the child Jeſus to preſent him to the Lord, he took him up in his arms, and expreſſed his gratitude to God in the words of this hymn.

This hymn was early employed in private devotion, as a matter of conſolation to Chriſtians at the point of death *, and even by martyrs in

* In the life of Mary of Egypt, it is ſaid, that a little before her death ſhe received the ſacrament, repeated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and then ſung, *nunc dimittis ſervum tuam in pace.* (Durant. de Rit. l. i. c. 16. N. 9. p. 59.)

their

their expiring agonies *. At what period it was introduced into the public ſervice of the church has not been aſcertained †; but we find it adopted by the Greek, Roman, and reformed churches ‡.

In our Liturgy it is judiciouſly placed after the ſecond Leſſon at Evening Prayer, which is always taken out of the writings of the apoſtles. In their epiſtles Chriſt is manifeſted to us likewiſe. We do not indeed, like Simeon, ſee him with our bodily eyes, but we behold him with the eye of faith, and therefore adopt the language of Simeon in our thankſgiving for the ſame ſalvation.

Deus misereatur, or the sixty-seventh Psalm.

Admitting this pſalm to be prophetical of the Goſpel diſpenſation, we ſhall diſcover a cloſe affinity between it and the preceding hymn. The pſalm prays for that "ſaving health," which Simeon rejoiced to ſee; for the converſion of the Gentiles, and for evangelical bleſſings. It likewiſe foretells the joy and gladneſs that ſhall accompany the more general diffuſion of the knowledge of the Goſpel of Chriſt. Theſe predictions are in part fulfilled; and the Chriſtian church may with propriety continue the uſe of this pſalm in the daily offices, till "the fulneſs of the Gentiles

* Wolf. Lect. Mem. † Bingham. b. xiv. c. ii. ſect. v.

‡ The Hymns of Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon, ſhall be ſung. (Synod of Dort. Can. 69.)

"is

" is come in, and the converſion of the Jews " completed, till the earth ſhall be full of the " knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the " ſea, and till Chriſt ſhall appear the ſecond " time, finally to accompliſh our ſalvation."— This ſalvation is made known to us by the voices of the apoſtles, which are heard in our churches every day: and after we have learnt from the Epiſtles, how " the grace of God that bringeth " ſalvation, appeared unto all men," and what it requires of us to become objects of this grace, the pſalm *Deus miſereatur* is a very ſeaſonable form of prayer and praiſe.

Deus miſereatur, as well as *Cantate Domino*, was added to the Evening Prayer in Edward's ſecond book.

OF THE COLLECTS.

The firſt collect at evening prayer is the ſame with that of the morning, being invariably in both the collect for the day. I proceed, therefore, to the

Second Collect for Evening Prayer.

This collect has the ſame title with the ſecond for morning prayer; " A collect for peace."— And though the petitions of each vary more in expreſſion than in meaning, yet we may obſerve this diſtinction: In the morning, we pray more par-

particularly for external peace, for ſecurity againſt thoſe troubles to which our intercourſe with the world may expoſe us. Here, in the evening, we pray rather for internal peace, *that peace which the world cannot give*, to comfort and compoſe us, that we may ſpend our lives in all Godly quietneſs and tranquillity. Aſſured of the inſeparable connection that exiſts between virtuous principles and genuine peace of mind, we addreſs God as the author *of all holy deſires, all good counſels, and all juſt works*. This collect is tranſlated, with little variation, from a prayer in the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great *, which, as I have already ſaid, was compiled before the year 600.

Third Collect for Evening Prayer.

Though their titles are different, the third collects at Morning and Evening Prayer bear a conſiderable reſemblance to each other: and both of them are peculiarly well adapted for the ſituations they reſpectively hold. That for the morning, appears to be more immediately directed againſt the dangers and temptations to which we may be expoſed in the courſe of the day. In this

* There is a neatneſs and ſimplicity in the original, which every tranſlator muſt find it difficult to preſerve.—Deus, a quo ſancta deſideria, recta conſilia, & juſta ſunt opera, da ſervis tuis illam, quam mundus dare non poteſt, pacem; ut, et corda noſtra mandatis tuis dedita, et, hoſtium ſublatâ formidine, tempora ſint tua protectione tranquilla, per dominum noſtrum, &c.

for

for the evening, towards the approach of natural darkneſs, we beſeech God to "enlighten the eyes "of our underſtandings, that we ſleep not in our "ſins unto death*;" and to defend us from all the dangers and perils that may enſue in the night. We commit ourſelves to the protection of him, *who neither ſlumbers nor ſleeps, and to whom darkneſs and light are both alike.*

With this Collect the Evening Prayer concluded till the laſt review.

PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS

UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

Till the laſt review of the Book of Common Prayer, the occaſional Prayers and Thankſgivings formed a part of the Litany: and *the Letanie*, as the word is written in the former books, was the title at the head of the pages, in which theſe Prayers and Thankſgivings were placed. They are now appointed *to be uſed before the two final prayers*, either *of the Litany*, or of the *Morning* and *Evening* ſervice.

* This is literally tranſlated from a collect in the Greek euchology, from which ours ſeems to be partly taken. That proceeds, *diſpel all darkneſs from our hearts, and vouchſafe to us the ſun of righteouſneſs, &c.*

OCCA-

OCCASIONAL PRAYERS.

It is the remark of a very able writer *, that "the enumeration of human wants and ſufferings "in the Litany is nearly complete:" that "a "Chriſtian petitioner can have few things to aſk "of God, or to deprecate, which he will not find "there expreſſed, and for the moſt part with "inimitable tenderneſs and ſimplicity." With reſpect to general devotion, the remark is extremely juſt: but ſtill there are ſeaſons, when either ſome calamity is ſo predominant, or ſome bleſſing ſo neceſſary, that it may become proper to deprecate the one, or to ſupplicate the other with extraordinary importunity. In addition, therefore, to the more general ſupplications made in our Litany and Daily Prayer, we are ſupplied with ſpecial forms for the following occaſions:

1. In time of drought, with a prayer for rain:

2. In time of exceſſive rain, with a prayer for fair weather:

3. In time of dearth and famine, with two prayers for cheapneſs and plenty, either of which the miniſter may uſe at his diſcretion:

4. In time of war and tumults, with a prayer for preſervation and deliverance: And,

5. In time of any common plague or ſickneſs, with a prayer, beſeeching God to withdraw his viſitation, and avert his judgments.

* Mr. Paley.

Drought,

Drought, deluge, or exceſſive rain, famine, rebellion, war, tumult, plague, and peſtilence, are among the moſt dreadful viſitations of the Almighty. Theſe judgments He ſometimes ſends upon the earth, that the inhabitants of the world may learn righteouſneſs. But ſo much have we of theſe realms been indebted to the mercy of his providence, that within the remembrance of more than the preſent generation, ſome of theſe forms have not been found neceſſary. The forms themſelves, however, for the credit of the compilers of our Liturgy, are ſo plain and perſpicuous, that no particular elucidation of them can be required. It may, therefore, be enough to obſerve, that ſimilar prayers occur in ancient Liturgies, from which ſome of theſe appear to be chiefly taken: and that each is well ſuited to the emergency to which it is appropriated by our church.

In the occaſional prayers already enumerated, we deprecate God's judgments, and ſupplicate his mercy. In thoſe that follow, we are furniſhed with *interceſſions* on three different occaſions:

1. With two prayers for the clergy, one of which is to be ſaid in the Ember weeks:

2. A prayer for the High Court of Parliament, to be read during their ſeſſion: And,

3. A prayer for all ſorts and conditions of men, to be uſed when the Litany is not ſaid.

Between the firſt and ſecond of theſe three,

ſtands the prayer beginning, "O God, whoſe "nature and property is, ever to have mercy and "forgive."

PRAYERS IN EMBER WEEKS.

Ember is a word of uncertain derivation.—Some ſuppoſe it ſignifies *aſhes*, and ſome *abſtinence*. Abſtinence, or faſting, it is commonly known, was anciently accompanied with the act of ſitting upon aſhes, or of ſprinkling aſhes upon the head. In the weſtern church, the Ember Weeks were ſtiled *jejunia quatuor temporum*, the faſts of the four ſeaſons. This title, as well as the uſage mentioned above, appears to favour the derivation already given. But others derive Ember from a Saxon word, ſignifying *courſe*, or *circumvolution*, for the Ember weeks return at fixed and certain periods, and are faſts *in courſe*.

The Ember days are the *Wedneſday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, after the firſt Sunday in Lent, the feaſt of Pentecoſt, September 14, and December 13. The weeks in which theſe days fall, are called Ember weeks: and the Sundays immediately following are, according to ancient inſtitution, appointed by the 31ſt canon of our church for the ordination of the clergy.

Theſe two prayers, though the latter of them is found in the Scotiſh Liturgy, were added to our Book of Common Prayer only at the laſt review. The intention of the forms is ſufficiently obvious:

and

and as the ordination of miniſters is a ſubject of primary importance, it is to be regretted that one or other of the forms is not more generally read on the Wedneſday and Friday in the Ember week, in ſuch of our pariſh churches as have ſervice on theſe days. Whether they were intended to be read every day in the Ember weeks, or only on every Ember day in the week, is a queſtion that has not univerſally been anſwered in the ſame way. The words of the Rubric appear to countenance the former practice.

PRAYER THAT MAY BE SAID AFTER ANY OF THE FORMER.

This prayer is not repeated ſo frequently as its excellence ſeems to require. It is drawn up in the metaphorical, but expreſſive, language of Scripture: has been long employed in the concluſion of Litanic, and other forms of prayer, by the churches of the weſt; and retains ſtrong marks of primitive devotion *. This collect I have ſeen in ſome of Henry's primers; but it is in neither of Edward's books, having been reſtored to the Common Prayer only in the reign of Elizabeth. It has likewiſe for the laſt 130 years, had the ill fortune to be miſplaced in moſt of the editions.

* In the old offices it is: Deus, cui proprium eſt miſereri ſemper & parcere; ſuſcipe deprecationem noſtram: ut nos & omnes famulos tuos, quos delictorum catena conſtringit, miſeratio tuæ pietatis clementer abſolvat.

Dr. Nicholls, who wrote in the beginning of the preſent century, relates, that the printers, in 1662, placed it between the prayer "for all ſorts and "conditions of men," and "the general thankſ-"giving." He adds, that the commiſſioners made them ſtrike it out, and print a new leaf, wherein it ſhould ſtand right, that is, immediately before "the prayer for the high court of parlia-"ment."

This account is echoed by Mr. Wheatley and others: but, I own, I here ſuſpect ſome miſtake. In the copies of the Book, which, agreeably to a clauſe in the act of uniformity, were collated with the engroſſed ſtatute, the prayer in queſtion, evidently through inadvertency, is printed in two different places, once before "the prayer for the "parliament," and again before "the general "thankſgiving."

The latter the commiſſioners have eraſed, by drawing with a pen, through the upper and lower parts of the printed text, two black lines *. The

* In the ſame manner they have expunged various other words and paſſages: and where it was neceſſary, they have corrected, in writing, typographical errors. I know not whether it is adviſable to ſtate, but as it is a fact, I ſhall ſtate, that ſome copies of the ſealed books have, in a few inſtances, been adulterated by a ſpurious pen. The writing of the ſecretary of the legitimate correctors is ſo far imitated, that, by this teſt alone, it is perhaps impoſſible to diſtinguiſh between the corrections, and the *corruptions*, that appear to have been ſoon after made by an *enemy*. The tares however may, in general, be eaſily known from the wheat.

prayer

prayer is, of courſe, left in its proper place *. Excluſively of the eraſure, an inſpection of the ſealed books will, I apprehend, afford ſatisfactory proof that *a new leaf was* NOT *printed*.

PRAYER FOR THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

This animated and comprehenſive prayer *for the high Court of Parliament*, that *for all ſorts and conditions of men*, and *the general thankſgiving*, though they muſt be conſidered as modern compoſitions, are ſcarce inferior to any of whatever antiquity. In this for the parliament, we pray for the whole kingdom, but more eſpecially for the *legiſlature*: that their counſels may be directed to promote the glory of God, the good of his church, and the welfare of the community.---- Towards the cloſe, enlarging our petitions, we requeſt theſe and *all other* neceſſaries for them, for ourſelves, and the *whole catholic church*, in the

* From its firſt introduction, in the time of Elizabeth, till the reſtoration of Charles II. it ſtood without any *title*, or *head*, immediately after the *prayer in time of any common plague, or ſickneſs*; and was then the laſt prayer in the Litany. In 1661, the two prayers, of which one is to be uſed in *Ember Weeks*, the prayer for the *parliament*, and that for *all ſorts and conditions of men*, were compoſed: and the title now prefixed to the prayer in queſtion, was then given. The printers of the book in 1662, obſerving perhaps that in the firſt copy, this prayer appeared once before the prayer for parliament, and again after that for "all ſorts and conditions, &c." would, from the title, naturally be induced to place it after theſe prayers.

name and by the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord and Saviour.

Prayer for all Sorts and Conditions of Men.

We have before had occaſion to obſerve, that St. Paul exhorts us to make prayers and ſupplications for all men; and that the duty enjoined by the apoſtle, was practiſed by the ancient Chriſtians in their daily devotions. In our church, however, till the laſt review of the Book of Common Prayer, we had no particular form of *general interceſſion*, excepting when the *Litany*, or the *prayer for the church militant*, was ſaid. The want of ſuch a form being thought a defect, the prayer before us was compoſed, and appointed to be uſed whenever the Litany was not.

It has likewiſe been noticed, that ſuch titles and attributes of the Deity generally introduce each of our prayers, as are moſt appropriate to the purport of the prayer itſelf *. In the *prayer for all ſorts and conditions of men*, we addreſs God as the common *creator and preſerver of all mankind:* and beſeech him that the general diſpenſations of his providence, and particularly the Goſpel, in Scripture emphatically ſtyled, *his ſaving health, may be known unto all nations.* In other words, we here pray for the converſion of Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, that all ignorance, hardneſs

* Page 27.

of

of heart, and contempt of God's word, being taken away, they may be ſaved among the remnant of the true Iſraelites.

In ancient Liturgies, the church prayed not only for the illumination of thoſe that ſat in darkneſs, for the inſtruction of the ignorant, and the converſion of the wicked, but likewiſe for the improvement of the good. And we here pray *more eſpecially for the good eſtate of the catholic church*: not ſo much for the external proſperity and grandeur of any particular eſtabliſhment, but that the whole, the Oriental, the Greek, the Latin, the Reformed, the Britiſh, and the American churches, with every other denomination of Chriſtians, *may be led into the way of truth*; neither introducing modern fanciful innovations, nor reviving ancient heretical opinions: but that they may *hold the faith*, "once delivered to the ſaints," *in unity of ſpirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteouſneſs of life.*

We farther intercede for all that are afflicted, whether by ſorrow, ſickneſs, or penury: and more eſpecially for thoſe that particularly deſire our public interceſſion at the throne of grace. All theſe we commend to the fatherly goodneſs of God, beſeeching him *to comfort and relieve them according to their ſeveral neceſſities*: that is, to mitigate their ſorrow of mind, to aſſuage their bodily pain, and to relieve their diſtreſſed eſtate, as may be moſt expedient for them. In particular we pray that, during their ſufferings, He will

enable them to bear his viſitation patiently: truſting that if they are reſtored to health and proſperity, they will lead the reſt of their lives to his glory; and aſſured, that if their ſufferings terminate in death, to which, as to the only complete deliverance from the preſſure of human woe, the good man muſt, in the gloom of adverſity, look forward with ſecret delight; the iſſue will, to him at leaſt, be equally fortunate and happy.

Both here, and in the general thankſgiving, the Rubric appears to be ſomewhat defective. It is not expreſsly ſtated whether the names of thoſe who *deſire the prayers of the congregation*, and of thoſe who *deſire to return praiſe*, ſhould be publicly announced by the miniſter. Both the reaſon of the thing, and the mode of expreſſion adopted in the clauſes inſerted between brackets, ſeem to require that the miniſter ſhould notify to the congregation the names of thoſe, on whoſe account the additions are made. I am aware of the objection to this practice that may be drawn from the words of another Rubric, prohibiting all publications *in the time of divine ſervice, except thoſe that are preſcribed by the rules of the book, or enjoined by the ordinary of the place.* But in theſe two inſtances, the intention of the church appears ſo evident, that by complying with it, we can ſcarce be ſaid to trangreſs any rule. And is not the general acquieſcence of our ordinaries nearly equivalent to an injunction? --- Again, the practice of calling

calling veſtries, of publiſhing parochial aſſeſſments, &c. in the time of divine ſervice, ſeems defenſible only on the principle, on which we maintain the propriety of the miniſter's notifying the names of thoſe, who deſire either *the prayers of the congregation*, or *to return praiſe*.

THANKSGIVINGS.

In the exhortation at the opening of the ſervice, we are admoniſhed that one principal end of our aſſembling in the houſe of God, is, *to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at his hands*. This has been done more generally in the Alleluiah, doxology, pſalms, and hymns. Beſides theſe, at the laſt review of the Liturgy, it was thought expedient to compoſe, and add

A GENERAL THANKSGIVING,

which is appointed to be uſed in the Morning and Evening Service of every day immediately before the two concluding prayers.

In this admirable compoſition, attributed to Biſhop Sanderſon, we addreſs God, as *the father of all mercies*, and *give him thanks for his goodneſs to us, and to all men*. When any deſire to return praiſe for eſpecial mercies, there is a clauſe for the purpoſe, and the nature of the bleſſing is commonly ſpecified by the miniſter before he begins

the Thankſgiving. We proceed to enumerate more particularly the bleſſings for which we return our humble and hearty thanks.—Theſe are (1) all the temporal benefits we enjoy, of which, *creation* and *preſervation* are the only two diſtinctly mentioned: (2) we more eſpecially praiſe God for ſpiritual bleſſings, among which we particularize *redemption*, *ſanctification* and *ſalvation*; the two laſt of which are expreſſed by the *means of grace, and the hope of glory*. From Euchariſtic, the form becomes petitionary. We beſeech God to make us truly ſenſible of his mercies, and really thankful for them; that we may ſhew our gratitude, and promote his glory, not only by celebrating his praiſes day by day in the public aſſembly of the church, but by walking in the paths of holineſs and righteouſneſs all our lives. Theſe petitions we enforce through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt; and we conclude the whole with a doxology, in which we aſcribe to the Son, with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

THANKSGIVINGS UPON VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

More particular Thankſgiving being ſometimes proper, we are ſupplied with forms on the ſix following occaſions (1) for rain: (2) for fair weather: (3) for plenty: (4) for peace, and deliverance from our enemies: (5) for reſtoring public peace at home;

home; and (6) with two Thankſgivings, either of which may be uſed, for deliverance from the plague, or other common ſickneſs.

When the petitions, which we may have offered up in any of the preceding occaſional prayers, have been granted, and our deſires fulfilled; when either a calamity has been removed, or a bleſſing vouchſafed, it is evidently the intention of the church, that praiſe ſhould be given to God, in the words of the appropriate thankſgiving here preſcribed: That is, in all caſes where the ordinary form is not ſuperſeded by one that is ſpecial, and enjoined by authority. Theſe occaſional Thankſgivings we may paſs over, after making one or two general obſervations. Some of them are partly taken from ancient offices *, and the whole are judiciouſly compoſed; being not only well adapted to the occaſions for which they are appointed, but, like the preceding prayers, with which they correſpond, as plain and perſpicuous, as they are rational and devout. The occaſional thankſgivings were compoſed in the reign of James, and annexed to the Litany: In 1662, they were detached from it, and printed as they now appear, after having been ſanctioned by a convocation, and authoriſed by the act of uniformity.

End of the Morning and Evening Prayer.

* Yet a ſelection of forms ſo complete is not to be met with in any Greek or Latin Liturgy.

OF ABSOLUTION IN GENERAL.

In theſe latter ages, the doctrine of Abſolution has become a ſubject of controverſy, upon which many theological writers have exerciſed their learning and ingenuity.—Without ſtating in detail the diſputes that have exiſted between Chriſtians of different denominations, and which have oftentimes terminated in contrary extremes, I propoſe to give a conciſe review of Abſolution, as it was taught and practiſed in the early ages of Chriſtianity. I mean more particularly to enquire, by whom, in the primitive church, Abſolution is ſaid to be granted, and to examine the various modes in which it was uſually adminiſtered. In the proſecution of this enquiry we may probably perceive, that the doctrine of the church of England reſpecting Abſolution, is the doctrine that was held by the beſt and wiſeſt among the Fathers: and we ſhall occaſionally have reaſon to obſerve the harmony, that in this inſtance, as well as in others, exiſts between our offices, and "the "moſt ancient Liturgies, which have been uſed in "the church in the primitive and pureſt times."

By whom Absolution is granted.

The ancient teachers of Chriſtianity, whether prieſts or prelates, arrogated to themſelves, in the

the diſpenſation of Abſolution, no power, which was not purely *miniſterial**. Agreeably to the doctrine of Holy Scripture, the Fathers unanimouſly maintain, that "God alone can forgive "ſins." In their elaborate defences of the Chriſtian faith, and their refutations of the erroneous opinions of thoſe who have been ſtigmatiſed as *heterodox* and *heretical*, we find them frequently preſſing this argument, in proof of the divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, that *they*, (viz. *the Son and the Holy Ghoſt,) have the power of forgiving ſins.*

Now if either theſe venerable apologiſts for Chriſtianity, or their opponents, had thought, that the apoſtles † and their ſucceſſors might in any degree participate with God in this power, both parties muſt have ſeen, that ſuch arguments were inconcluſive and abſurd.

* We muſt except all the caſes, and they are extremely numerous, where the word *Abſolution*, or a term equivalent, is applied to denote *the relaxation of eccleſiaſtical cenſures.*—Theſe were mere human ordinances, the municipal laws of the reſpective churches; and the perſons appointed to execute them, neceſſarily had a *judicial* power. See the head, *Abſolution of reconciliation to the church, or readmiſſion to its communion.*

† Our Saviour after breathing upon the apoſtles ſaid, "Whoſeſoever's ſins ye ſhall forgive," &c. Upon theſe paſſages Baſil, Chryſoſtom, Ambroſe, Auſtin, and others obſerve that the forgiving of ſins is not properly the work of the Apoſtles, but the work of the Holy Ghoſt, who remitted ſins by them, and thus performed the work of the true God. Peter ſaid to Ananias, why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the *Holy Ghoſt?* Thou haſt not lied unto *men*, but unto *God.* Acts v. 3, 4.

As

As it may anſwer the double purpoſe of aſcertaining the opinions of the early Chriſtians on one of the fundamental, and moſt important articles of religion, viz. the *Divinity* of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, as well as of ſhewing by whom, according to their ideas, Abſolution, or Remiſſion of Sins, is granted, I ſhall produce from their writings, a few of the paſſages, which at once illuſtrate both theſe heads.

IRENÆUS, in his fifth Book againſt hereſies ſays, "By remitting his ſins our Saviour indeed healed "the man: but at the ſame time he manifeſted "himſelf, and ſhewed who he was. For if no "one can remit ſins, but God alone, and our "Lord did remit them, then it is plain he did it, "becauſe he was the word of God, made the Son "of man. As man, he ſuffered for us; as God, "he ſhews us mercy and forgives us our treſpaſſes *."

TERTULLIAN, in his fourth Book againſt *Marcion*, argues thus, "The Jews beholding only our "Lord's humanity, and being not yet acquainted "with his divinity, with good reaſon maintained "that man could not forgive ſins, but God only. "Our Lord, by anſwering that the Son of man "had power to forgive ſins, directs their attention "to that only Son of man, of whom Daniel propheſied: and, by his remitting of ſins, would "have them underſtand, that in his perſon, the

* Cap. xvii. Sect. 3. p. 314. Ed. Benedict.

"divine

" divine and human natures were united; that he " was that ſon of man, to whom was committed " the power of judging, and conſequently the " power of forgiving ſins *." (Dan. vii. 13, 14.)

BASIL †, in his fifth Book againſt Eunomius, ſays, " it is the property of God alone to forgive " ſins. He himſelf declares, I, even I am he " that blotteth out thy tranſgreſſions, (Iſa. xliii. " 25) and again, though thy ſins be as ſcarlet, " they ſhall be as white as ſnow; though they be " red like crimſon, they ſhall be as wool (Is. i. " 18.) Now, when Jeſus, the Son of God, God " of God, forgave the ſins of the ſick of the " palſy, ſaying, *Son, thy ſins be forgiven thee;* on " account of theſe words, the Jews, who knew " not that he was God, thought him a blaſ- " phemer, and ſaid this man blaſphemeth, none " can forgive ſins, but God alone. The Lord," continues Baſil, " breathing upon the holy apoſ- " tles, ſays, receive ye the Holy Ghoſt: whoſeſo- " ever ſins ye remit they are remitted unto them. " Now if none can remit ſins but God alone, " (and it is certain none can,) and if the Holy " Ghoſt by the apoſtles remits ſins, then the " Holy Ghoſt is God." He proceeds to ſhew, that " in baptiſm, the Son, together with the " Father and the Holy Ghoſt; and the Holy " Ghoſt, with the Father and the Son, forgive " ſins." The concluſion he draws from this ar-

* Cap. x. p. 421. Ed. Rigalt. Lit. D.

† Cap. iii. *On Remiſſion of Sins.*

gument,

gument, which he employs on various occaſions, and urges here at conſiderable length, and with great force, is, that "the Son is God, and that "the Holy Ghoſt is God; that the Holy Ghoſt is "of the ſame ſubſtance, as well as the ſame "power and authority with the Father and the "Son."

ATHANASIUS, in his third Oration againſt the Arians *, aſks, "how could the word, ſuppoſing "that he had been a creature, have been able to "abrogate the denunciation of God, and remit "ſins, ſeeing it is written by the prophets, that "this is the perogative of God alone? How could "man by created beings be abſolved from ſin? "But our Lord abſolved them, as he himſelf "ſays if the Son hath made you free, then ſhall "you be free indeed. By having made you free, "the Son has manifeſted that he is not a creature, "nor a created being, but the true word, and the "image of the ſubſtance of the Father; even of "him who from the beginning made the denun-"ciation, and who alone remits ſins."

AMBROSE, towards the concluſion of his third Book † *on the Holy Ghoſt*, recapitulates ſome arguments, which are more amply diſcuſſed in the preceding parts of the treatiſe, and introduces four diſtinct proofs of the divinity of the Holy Ghoſt. In that which is more immediately to our

* Page 239 of the Commel. Ed.

† In the former part of c. xix.

purpoſe, he proceeds upon nearly the ſame ground, which we have ſeen Irenæus, Tertullian, Baſil, and Athanaſius, treading before. "None," he obſerves, "can forgive ſins but God alone. Let "us ſee whether the Holy Ghoſt forgives ſins. "Of this no one can doubt, ſince the Lord him- "ſelf ſaid, receive ye the Holy Ghoſt: whoſe- "ſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted. This "then is a proof that he is God, for he remits "ſins.——The remiſſion of ſins in baptiſm is the "operation of the Father, and of the Son, and of "the Holy Ghoſt."

In the ſame manner argue HILARY †, CYRIL of Alexandria †, CHRYSOSTOM ‡, JEROM §, and many others of the fathers, all alike inferring the Divi-

* Hil. in Mat. 9. † De Recta Fide.

‡ In Matt. 9. Hom. 29.—Yet Chryſoſtom on ſome occaſions moſt hyperbolically magnifies the power of the prieſt, as the following ſpecimen of Oriental eloquence will prove. "The throne "of the prieſt is placed in heaven, and to him is committed the "adminiſtration of heavenly things. Who ſays this? The king of "heaven himſelf. He ſays, *whatſoever ye ſhall bind*, &c. Can "any honour equal this honour? Heaven receives from earth the "power of judging. The Lord follows the ſervant, and whatever "he judges here below, the Lord ratifies above." (Hom. in Iſa.)—But that he may not, however, by any rhetorical flight, miſlead his hearers, he frequently interpoſes ſuch ſentences as theſe, "to forgive ſins is poſſible to God only; it is the property of no other; God alone does this." And he often affirms, that "that it is not neceſſary to confeſs to men, but that it is ſufficient to confeſs to God."

§ Comment. in Matt. 9.

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nity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, from their power to forgive ſins: a prerogative, which they uniformly maintain, belongs only to God.

Of the Forms in which Abſolution was diſpenſed in the primitive Church.

The diſpenſation of Abſolution, as practiſed in the ancient church, is reducible to theſe four heads:

1. *The Abſolution of Baptiſm, and of the ſupper of the Lord, or ſacramental Abſolution.*
2. *The Abſolution of reconciliation to the church, and re-admiſſion into its communion.*
3. *The Abſolution of word and doctrine, or declaratory Abſolution.*
4. *The Abſolution of prayer, or precatory Abſolution.*

I. Sacramental Abſolution.

The ſacrament of baptiſm was eſteemed by the Fathers the moſt univerſal Abſolution. To adopt the words of antiquity, it was the *grand*, the *divine indulgence* in the Chriſtian church *. It was the Abſolution, or remiſſion of all thoſe ſins, which the party baptized committed before his entry into

* Voſſius de Baptiſmo.

the

the myſtical body of Chriſt*. Yet in the ſacrament of baptiſm, the miniſtry only, is to be accounted human; the power and efficacy are of God. *St. John the Baptiſt* makes this very diſtinction. "I "baptize with *water:* He baptizeth with the *Holy* "*Ghoſt*" (John 1. 26, 33.) *Auſtin* has obſerved, "that to baptize by way of miniſtry, is one "thing, to baptize by way of power is another †. "The power of baptizing, the Lord has retained "to himſelf, but he has given the miniſtry "to his ſervants. The power of baptiſm "was to paſs from the Lord to none, but the "miniſtry evidently was: the power was not to "be transferred from the Lord to any of his mi- "niſters, but the miniſtry was, both to the good "and bad ‡." *Alexander* of *Hales*, ſays, "it is "a matter of equal power to baptize inwardly, "and to abſolve from mortal ſin. It was not "proper for God to commit to man the power of

* That is, provided it were duly adminiſtered, and properly received. Hence it was ſometimes called *the Sacrament of Abſolution*, and *of grace*, in contradiſtinction to *grace* and *abſolution:* for impenitent perſons may receive the *outward form* of the ſacrament of Baptiſm, and of the Euchariſt, but not *the ſpiritual grace*. Baptiſmum, quod eſt Sacramentum Remiſſionis peccatorum, habere etiam *homicidas* poſſe, &c. Aug. de Bapt. l. v. c. 21.

† Aliud enim eſt baptizare per miniſterium, aliud baptizare per poteſtatem, &c. Auguſt. in Joan. Tract. 5.

‡ Sacramentum gratiæ dat Deus etiam per malos: ipſam vero gratiam non niſi per ſeipſum.—Id. ibid. Id. de bapt.—This is conſonant to our article "the unworthineſs of miniſters, hinders not the effect of the Sacraments."

" baptizing inwardly, leſt our hope ſhould be " placed in man. By parity of reaſon, it was " not proper that he ſhould communicate to man " the power of abſolving from actual ſin *."

The ſacrament of the Lord's Supper was likewiſe an abſolution, and was called το τελειον, the perfection of a Chriſtian. To all who had never fallen into the greater ſins, which required public penance, it was a general abſolution. It was likewiſe an abſolution from the penalties of excommunication. To penitents at the point of death, it was what the Latin fathers call *viaticum*, or proviſion for the paſſage from this life to the future. In caſe the ſick penitent recovered, he was obliged to perform the reſt of the preſcribed penance: at leaſt he was to receive the impoſition of hands at the altar, which was accompanied with prayers for his abſolution. But if he died, the Euchariſt was deemed ſufficient. In a time of perſecution, an aged man of blameleſs manners, whoſe name was *Serapion*, had been prevailed upon to ſacrifice to an idol. He often ſued for pardon. At length, falling ſick in the night, he ſent for a prieſt to abſolve him. The prieſt was likewiſe ſick, and could not go; but ſent by the meſſenger a portion of the Euchariſt. It was put into the mouth of Serapion, who immediately expired.

* Sum. univers. Theol. Par. 4. *ap. Morin.*

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This ſtory is recorded by Euſebius,* from Dyonyſius of Alexandria, whoſe obſervation upon it is, that God evidently preſerved *Serapion* alive, till he might be reconciled to Chriſt, and acknowledged by him for the many good works which he had done.—In the abſolution of baptiſm, and of the Euchariſt, the office of the prieſt is to adminiſter *the outward and viſible form.*—But as our church does not call the two ſacraments, indulgencies, or abſolutions, and as ſome notice will be taken hereafter of our mode of adminſtering them, I ſhall not at preſent enter more particularly into the ſubject.

II. Absolution of Reconciliation to the Church, and Re-admission to its Communion.

The ſecond kind of abſolution which we mentioned, is, that *of reconciliation to the church, and re-admiſſion to its communion.* It expreſſes the ſolemn manner of abſolving public penitents, who in conſequence of having tranſgreſſed either the laws of the Goſpel, or the regulations of the church, had been excluded from the benefit of public communion; and of re-admitting them to this privilege, upon the due performance of the canonical penance.

With abſolution, in this ſenſe of the term, the Church of England has, unfortunately perhaps,

* Lcc. Hiſt. L. vi. c. 44.

little concern *. This head therefore, though volumes of inſtruction as well as codes of caſuiſtry have been written upon it, I ſhall diſmiſs with a few curſory obſervations.

This power of abſolution, which muſt be conſidered as merely a matter of external eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and conſequent reconciliation to the church, we find both from paſſages of St. Paul's epiſtles, and from other genuine records, was originally exerciſed by the aſſembly of the faithful, by the collective body of Chriſtians. In proceſs of time, officers and governors were appointed, and inveſted with abſolute judicial authority. They were conſtituted the legal judges of the qualifications of the parties ejected from the boſom of the church, and ſuing for re-admiſſion, which was then commonly ſtyled abſolution or indulgence. They re-admitted to communion, thoſe, who in conſequence of repentance and reformation, were pronounced to be entitled to this *indulgence:* and this *abſolution* was refuſed to ſuch as were deemed unworthy of it. Though it cannot be denied that groſs abuſes ſprang out of this diſcipline, yet the original inſtitution was ſalutary and wiſe.

The miniſters of this diſcipline, then, had full

* Peter Martyr, at the requiſition of Cranmer, was engaged in drawing up a ſyſtem of penitential diſcipline. And we ſtill continue to expreſs an annual wiſh that ſome part of the ancient diſcipline may be reſtored. But, ſuch has long been the ſpirit of the times, that our rulers have not yet thought it expedient to go farther.

powers

powers to abſolve *judicially*, and might pronounce the relaxation, or removal of church cenſures, *indicatively* or *declaratively*. But the complete and final reconciliation was, in common, ſolemnly performed at the altar, and the words of abſolution on theſe occaſions always ran in a ſupplicatory or precatory form.—Theſe rulers muſt be conſidered as acting in two capacities, very diſtinct from each other, a circumſtance, which has not always been ſufficiently attended to. Being choſen from the body of the clergy, they were at the ſame time, *judges* and *miniſters*. As judges, they might ſhorten or prolong the time of penance; but when they had once *judicially* pronounced abſolution to a penitent, they were, with reſpect to him, reduced to their *miniſterial* capacity, and became *interceſſors* with God to have mercy upon him, to forgive and deliver him from all his ſins*.

III. Declaratory Absolution.

Declaratory Abſolution, which has likewiſe been called the Abſolution of Word and Doctrine, appears to be that which conſtitutes the moſt material part of the miniſtry of reconciliation, committed by Chriſt to his ambaſſadors on earth. (2 Cor. v. 18, 19.)

* In the days of *Cyprian*, and thoſe of *Alcuinus*, two periods remote from each other, this abſolution was, in the abſence of the *prieſt*, granted by a *Deacon*. *Morin.*

The exercise of this Absolution consists in publishing the terms and conditions, on which remission of sins, reconciliation to God, and everlasting salvation, are promised in the Gospel. Of these terms and conditions the ministers of Christ are authorised, and enjoined, to make public and general declaration. The apostles were commanded to "go into all the world and to preach the Gospel to every creature." And every priest of the church of England has solemnly engaged, "out "of the Holy Scriptures to instruct the people "committed to his charge in all things necessary "to their salvation *." In particular, he is bound to declare, from the word of truth, the terms on which God is graciously pleased to admit men to his favour, and what are the conditions, without the performance of which, they shall be excluded from it.---The terms, on which God, under the covenant of grace, remits, or retains sins, are unalterably fixed, and they are expressly declared in the Gospel. The terms are these: God pardons and absolves all true penitents, and sincere believers; and will give everlasting life to all his faithful and obedient servants. But the impenitent shall perish †. The unbelieving shall die in his sins ‡. Indignation and wrath shall be the portion of the disobedient §.—Whenever the minister of the Gospel, either in the public or private discharge of his office, fully and

* Office of Ordination.
† Luke xiii. 3.
‡ John viii. 24.
§ Rom. xi. 8.

faith-

faithfully repreſents theſe truths to the people, he does, in other words, declare and pronounce to them whoſe ſins are remitted, and whoſe ſins are retained by God.

The duty of the miniſter of Chriſt Jeſus conſiſts principally in inſtruction and exhortation. The one convinces the underſtanding, the other engages the affections. And when inſtructions, united with exhortations, produce in the hearts of men, "repentance, whereby they forſake ſin; "and faith, whereby they ſteadfully believe the "promiſes" of God made in the Goſpel, the prieſt may, in the ſcriptural ſenſe of the words, be ſaid to looſe the people from their ſins. For in Scripture the ſinner is repreſented as holden with the cords of his ſins *: "Theſe cords, and "chains," ſays Jerom, "the meſſengers of Chriſt "can looſe, according to the commiſſion given "them by their maſter, who ſaid to them, what-"ſoever ye looſe on earth ſhall be looſed in Hea-"ven. Now the meſſengers of Chriſt looſe men "from the chains of their ſins, by the word of "God, by teſtimonies drawn from the Scriptures, "and by exhortation to the practice of Chriſtian "graces and virtues †."

Nearly in the ſame manner Ambroſe ſays, "to-

* Prov. v. 22.

† Funibus peccatorum ſuorum unuſquiſque conſtringitur: quos funes & vincula ſolvere non poſſunt & Apoſtoli.—Solvunt eos Sermone Dei & teſtimoniis ſcripturarum, & Exhortatione virtutum. Hieron. in Iſa. xiv. 17.

" wards obtaining remiſſion of ſins, men (that is, " the prieſts,) make uſe of their miniſtry, but " they exerciſe no privilege of authority *." He elſewhere obſerves, " ſins are remitted by the " word of God, of which the levite or prieſt is " the interpreter, and a kind of executor. They " are remitted through the office and the ſacred " miniſtry of the prieſt †.—He is therefore the " miniſter of remiſſion ‡."

The miniſters of the Goſpel may, in a lax and popular ſenſe of the words, be ſaid to be inſtrumental in reconciling men to God, and acceſſary to their obtaining remiſſion of ſins, for to them " the miniſtry of remiſſion is committed," and " the word of reconciliation given §." As the Jewiſh teachers " by taking away the key of " knowledge did ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven " againſt men ‖," ſo " every ſcribe inſtructed " unto the Kigdom of Heaven, by opening to his " hearers the door of faith" unlocks that kingdom ¶. He is the inſtrument employed by God " to open men's eyes, and to turn them from " darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan

* Nullum jus poteſtatis exercent.

† Remittuntur peccata per Dei verbum, cujus Levites interpres, & quidem executor eſt. Remittuntur etiam per officium Sacerdotis, ſacrumque miniſterium. (Amb. de Cain. & Abel. Lib. ii. c. 4.)

‡ Levites igitur Miniſter Remiſſionis eſt (Id. ibid.)

§ 2 Cor. vi 18, 19.

‖ Luke xi. 52, & Mat. xxiii. 13.

¶ Matt. xiii. 52. Acts xiv. 27.

" unto

" unto God, that they may receive forgiveneſs of " ſins *."

The abſolution of word and doctrine, that is, the act of preaching the Goſpel, and properly applying Holy Scripture, may in a popular, but not in the ſtrict ſenſe of the terms, be likewiſe ſtyled operative and efficacious. It may be ſaid to be operative, ſo far as God employs it as the means of conferring his ſpirit upon men †, and of working faith and repentance, by which remiſſion of ſins is obtained. Thus John, " preaching " the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of " ſins ‡, and teaching the people that they ſhould " believe in him, which ſhould come after him, " that is on Chriſt Jeſus §," is ſaid " to turn " many of the children of Iſrael to the Lord their " God ‖." He did this by " giving knowledge of " ſalvation unto the people of the Lord, for the " remiſſion of their ſins ¶." John had not properly any power to turn men's hearts. He, like the prieſts of the Goſpel, was entruſted with the miniſtry of the word of the grace of God, which is able to convert men, and to build them up, and to give them inheritance among the ſanctified **. Thus whoever by the application of this word converts a ſinner, is ſaid to ſave a ſoul from death ††. The converſion of a ſinner, and the ſaving of a

* Acts xxvi. 18. † Acts x. 44. Gal. iii. 2. ‡ Mark i. 4.
§ Acts xix. 4. ‖ Luke i. 17. ¶ Luke i. 77.
** Acts xx. 32. †† Jam. v. 20.

ſoul

ſoul from death, is a prerogative peculiar to God. Yet the miniſters may be ſaid to effect this, and to reconcile men to God, when they perform the miniſtry of reconciliation, as they are ſaid "to ſave "their hearers," when they ſucceſsfully "preach "the Goſpel, by which they are ſaved *." Thus the word is ſaid to be "their word" which "is "in truth the word of God †." Where the preaching of the Goſpel proves "the power of God "unto ſalvation," the weakneſs of the miniſtry muſt be aſcribed to men, "the excellency of the "power is of God‡." "So then, neither he that "planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth, "but God that giveth the increaſe §." The giving of the increaſe, ſays Auſtin ‖, exceeds both the meanneſs of man, and the ſublimity of Angels: it belongs only to the Trinity ¶.

But, in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech, this abſolution of the prieſt is ſimply declaratory of what God does for the ſinner upon his repentance. And whenever this declaration is made according to the terms of the Goſpel, it neceſſarily preſuppoſes that God has already pardoned thoſe whom

* 1 Tim. iv. 16. 1. Cor. xv. i. 2.

† John xvii. 20. 1 Theſ. ii. 13.

‡ Rom. i. 16. 2 Cor. iv. 7.

§ 1 Cor. iii. 7.

‖ Excedit hoc humanam humilitatem—pertinet ad Agricolam, Trinitatem.

¶ Uſher's anſwer to a jeſuit's challenge.

the

the prieſt pronounces to be abſolved. St. *Jerom*, who is followed by *the Maſter of the ſentences* *, has obſerved, that "in remitting and retaining ſins, "the prieſts under the Goſpel diſpenſation have "the ſame right and office, which, under the law "of Moſes, the levitical prieſts had in healing "lepers †." The reaſoning of Jerom, and of Peter Lombard, is adopted by the authors of the Homily upon repentance. "Do not they, (the "advocates for auricular confeſſion) ſee, that the "leper was cleanſed from his leproſy before he "was by Chriſt ſent unto the prieſt to ſhew him-"ſelf unto him? By the ſame reaſon, we muſt "be cleanſed from our ſpiritual leproſy, I mean, "our ſins muſt be forgiven us, *before* that we "come to auricular confeſſion. What need we "then to tell forth our ſins into the ear of the "prieſt, ſith (ſeeing) that they be already taken "away?" We may farther aſk, what need have they of abſolution, in the Romiſh ſenſe of the

* *Peter Lombard* (or the *Lombardian*) is commonly ſo called from his writing the *four Books of Sentences*. This work, which was a complete body of divinity for the age, and was then more generally ſtudied than even the holy Scriptures, is principally a collection of paſſages from the Fathers, whoſe difference of opinion the *Maſter* endeavours to reconcile. He was Profeſſor of Theology in the Univerſity of Paris, and afterwards Biſhop of the dioceſe. He died in 1164. In illuſtration of *the Sentences*, ſubſequent doctors wrote voluminous commentaries.

† Pet. Lomb. L. 14. Sent. Diſt. 14. ap. Morin.

term,

term, from the hands of man, who are already absolved by God?

"Therefore," continues the Homily, "holy "Ambrose, in his second sermon upon the 118th "(according to our division the 119th) psalm, "doth say full well, go shew thyself unto the "priest. Who is the true priest, but he which "is priest for ever after the Order of Melchise-"dech? Both the priesthood and the law being "changed, we ought to acknowledge none other "priest for deliverance from our sins, but our "Saviour Jesus Christ, who being sovereign "bishop, doth with the sacrifice of his body and "blood, offered once for ever upon the altar of "the cross, most effectually cleanse the spiritual "leprosy, and wash away the sins of all those "that, with true confession of the same, do flee "unto him."

That the power of the priest to remit or retain sins, is merely declaratory, and in no degree judicial*, was the doctrine of the ancient church. Till within these few centuries it was likewise the

* Even *Scotus* says, to *judge* whose sins shall be forgiven belongs to God, and he can as soon confer upon another his *Divinity*, as this power of *judging*. 41. Sent. Dist. 19. No. 4, 5. *John Duns*, surnamed *Scotus*, a native of Northumberland, and fellow of Merton College, Oxford, flourished A. D. 1300, about which time he removed to Paris. He was styled the *subtle Doctor*, and maintained opinions contrary to those of *Bonaventure* and *Thomas Aquin.*— Hence the origin of the names *Thomists* and *Scotists*.

doctrine

doctrine of the church of Rome*; and that it was the common doctrine of the more early Proteſtant Divines, appears from their reſpective writings. That it is the avowed doctrine of the church of England, the daily form of abſolution proves, which expreſsly ſays, "Almighty God, "the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, pardoneth "and abſolveth all them that truly repent, and "unfeignedly believe his Holy Goſpel." Do theſe words leave us at liberty to ſuppoſe, that they whom God pardons and abſolves, need any other pardon and abſolution; or that human power can retain thoſe ſins which HE remits?

The office which, by the appointment of God, the prieſt is to perform, is purely miniſterial, and our church thus deſcribes it: "HE hath given "power and commandment to his miniſters to "declare and pronounce to his people, being "penitent, the Abſolution and Remiſſion of their "ſins." Now, no declaration can make a thing to be what it was not before. The declaration pre-ſuppoſes the thing to be what it is declared to be. What the miniſters have power and commandment to declare and pronounce, muſt be actually done, before they can declare and pronounce it done: that is, God has already par-

* This is proved by USHER; but, as he remarks, the *old Doctors* muſt now yield to the *new Fathers of Trent*. In this inſtance, the non-conformiſts ſub-romaniſed, and even in our church they may have diſciples.

doned thoſe whom his miniſters are authoriſed to pronounce abſolved.

The prieſts have the ſame powers in *binding*, that they have in *looſing*. They are appointed to denounce, but not to inflict puniſhment. In their mouths the words of the Lord are put *. Like the prophet, they "caſt the people out of God's "ſight, ſuch as are for death to death †," not that they are *avengers*, for this is a title which God challenges to himſelf, "vengeance is mine, "I will repay, ſaith the Lord;" but becauſe they are appointed to be "prophets unto the nations ‡," and to ſpeak the words which God has commanded.

IV. Precatory Absolution.

The fourth and only ancient form of abſolution that remains to be conſidered is, the Abſolution of Prayer, or precatory Abſolution. This, in general, conſtituted a part of the other Abſolutions. Both in the adminiſtration of baptiſm, and at the celebration of the Euchariſt, as well as in the ſolemn reconciliation of returning penitents, prayers and interceſſions for pardon of ſins always accompanied theſe ſacred rites, and implied that the Abſolution was not the act of the

* Jer. i. 9. † Jer. xv. 1, 2. ‡ Jer. v. 7.

prieſt,

prieſt, but of God. In the writings of the Fathers and the decrees of councils, to the efficacy of the prayers and interceſſions of the prieſt, is the remiſſion of ſin often aſcribed.

TERTULLIAN, before he adopted the anti-chriſtian notions of the *Montaniſts* *, repreſents "Chriſt "as joining his interceſſion with the tears of the "church, and thus obtaining pardon for the "penitent †."

"The prieſts," ſays CHRYSOSTOM ‡, "abſolve "not only by doctrine and admonition, but alſo "by the aſſiſtance of their prayers." And, in the judgment of AUSTIN §, prayer is one eſpecial mean, whereby the commiſſion given to the prieſts is exerciſed in the remiſſion of ſins. He exhorts offenders to ſhew their repentance publicly to the church, "that the church may pray for them ‖," and that they may obtain the benefit of abſolution.

When a woman of quality applied to BASIL for

* Whether *Tertullian* was afterward deluded by the enthuſiaſtic notions of this ſect, or whether his own rigid principles, and ſtrenuous oppoſition to the abuſes of indulgence and Abſolution, which, even in his days, appear to have gained a conſiderable footing in the church, altered his former opinion, are points on which the learned have not fully delivered their ſentiments, or, at leaſt, have not unanimouſly decided.

† Æque, illi cum ſuper te lachrymas agunt, Chriſtus patitur.—Chriſtus patrem deprecatur. Facile impetratur ſemper, quod filius poſtulat. *Tert. de pœnit.* §. 10.

‡ De Sacerdot. § De baptiſmo cont. Donatiſt.

‖ Ut oret pro vobis eccleſia.

abſolu-

abſolution, he ſaid "Haſt thou heard that God "only can forgive ſins?" "I have, father," ſhe replied, "and I therefore beſeech thee to "make interceſſion for me to our merciful "God *."

"The prieſts," ſays AMBROSE †, "execute "the commiſſion given by Chriſt (John xx. 23.) "as interceſſors by their prayers—They beſeech "and entreat; the Godhead forgives and remits "ſins."

LEO *the great*, who was not more remarkable for his vigorous exertions in extending the power of the papal ſee, than for his extraordinary genius and abilities as a writer, conceived that abſolution was obtained by the ſupplication and prayer of God's miniſters. "It has pleaſed the divine "goodneſs," he ſays, "that the remiſſion of ſins "ſhould be granted to the ſupplications of the "prieſts. It is therefore neceſſary that the guilt "of ſins be abſolved by ſacerdotal interceſſion." And that *the power of the keys* extends to remiſſion of ſins by way of interceſſion and of prayer only, and not by imparting any immediate abſolution, as maintained by Bonaventure, by Alexander of Hales, and by other ancient ſchoolmen ‡.

Of the frequency of the uſe of the precatory

* Life of Baſil, aſcribed to his friend Amphilochius.

† Iſti rogant, divinitas donat.—De Spir. S. lib. iii. cap. 19.

‡ Morin de ſac. pœn. and Uſher's anſwer to the challenge.

form

form of abſolution, the writings of the fathers, and the liturgies of antiquity, afford innumerable proofs. And of the efficacy of interceſſion and ſupplication in obtaining remiſſion of ſins, a very extraordinary inſtance is recorded by Euſebius * on the authority of Clement of Alexandria.

The *abſolution*, or, as we now ſay, *the ſacrament* of the Supper of the Lord is, in the Church of England, adminiſtered in a precatory form. At the delivery of the bread, the prieſt ſays, "the "body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was given "for thee, preſerve thy body and ſoul unto ever-"laſting life. Take and eat this in remembrance "that Chriſt died for thee, and feed on him in "thy heart by faith with thankſgiving." When the cup is preſented, he ſays, "the blood of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was ſhed for thee, "preſerve thy body and ſoul unto everlaſting "life: drink this in remembrance that Chriſt's "blood was ſhed for thee, and be thankful."

In the Latin or Roman church likewiſe, the form preſcribed to be uſed in the canon † of the

* Ecc. hiſt. l. iii. c. 23. Of John, the Apoſtle.

† In the canon of the maſs, the prieſt who conſecrates, commonly partakes alone. Any of the aſſiſtant prieſts or deacons, or of the people, may afterwards communicate. But the adminiſtration of the communion to the people, forms a part of the *ritual*, rather than of the *miſſal*. All the people are required to communicate at leaſt once a year, and they may receive the communion at hours when the communion office or maſs is not performed, conſecrated bread, the hoſt, being reſerved in a veſſel for the purpoſe.

maſs, as well as when the laity communicate, is entirely precatory, and nearly reſembles our own, which indeed was partly borrowed from it. On the paten, or little plate, is placed the hoſt, that is, the conſecrated bread, or rather wafer, which is commonly marked with an impreſſion of the image of Chriſt on the croſs, or with the letters I H S, and a croſs above the centre of the H. The prieſt, holding in his left hand the paten, and taking the hoſt between his thumb and fore finger, croſſes himſelf with it, ſaying, "the body of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt preſerve my ſoul unto ever-"laſting life. Amen:" and after this he receives the hoſt.

Then taking the chalice in his right hand, and croſſing himſelf with it in the ſame manner, he ſays, "the blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt pre-"ſerve my ſoul unto everlaſting life. Amen:" and receives all the blood. Eſpecial care is taken that no particle of the conſecrated elements may be left remaining either on the paten or in the chalice.

When the laity receive the communion, the ſame form is uſed, excepting that *my* is of courſe changed into *thy*. It is perhaps unneceſſary to add, that the hoſt is put by the prieſt into the mouth of the communicant, and that the wine is prohibited to all the laity: both of which practices, as the proteſtants have ſhewn, and ſome of the more learned and liberal Romaniſts admit,

are

are contrary to the uſage of the primitive Chriſtians *.

The laity of the Greek church receive the communion in both kinds; but the manner of adminiſtering the elements to them, though it has been retained for ſeveral ages, differs from the practice of antiquity, and of our church. The prieſts and deacons indeed partake of the bread firſt, and of the wine afterward, much in the manner that we do. After which, a deacon invites the laity to approach, in theſe words, "Draw near with "faith and charity in the fear of God." The

* From the inſtitution of the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper till the twelfth century, no inſtance can be produced where, in the *public* celebration of the Euchariſt, the people did not partake of the wine, as well as of the bread. About this period, ſome biſhops interdicted the uſe of the cup. This was done, it is ſaid, to prevent all irreverence, and any accident that might degrade the dignity of the ſacrament; and more eſpecially the effuſion of the blood of Chriſt. Tranſubſtantiation, mentioned in the eleventh, and much more frequently in the twelfth century, and eſtabliſhed by the 17th Lateran council in 1215, was ſoon followed by this epiſcopal interdict. In 1414, the council of Conſtance confirmed by a canon the regulation of the biſhops, and ratified, as far as a ſynod can ratify, a practice directly contradictory to the plain poſitive injunction of Chriſt, and the univerſal uſage of the church for upwards of 1100 years. Till this period, the laity likewiſe received the elements into their own hands. Unleavened bread, wafers, the elevation and adoration of the hoſt, and the putting of it into the mouth of the communicant, all of them the offspring of tranſubſtantiation, are not many years younger than their parent; and muſt all be ranked with the ſacerdotal corruptions and ſuperſtitions, for which the thirteenth century is diſtinguiſhed. The poſitive or indicative form of abſolution was likewiſe the invention of this age.

bread and wine, previouſly mixed in the chalice, are adminiſtered together in a ſpoon to the communicants; to each of whom the miniſter ſays, "The precious and holy body, and blood of our "Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt are partaken of "by thee, for the remiſſion of thy ſins, and ever-"laſting life *." Or, "I adminiſter to thee the "precious †, &c.;" or, "Thou partakeſt of "the ‡, &c."

In England, till the reformation, the words ſpoken by the prieſt prior to his receiving the elements, differed materially both from the Roman and our preſent form. In various editions of the Saliſbury miſſal, ſome of which were printed here before the reformation, ſome during the reign of Mary, and others at Paris, the prieſt is directed, before he partakes, to addreſs the body with humiliation, or bowing, and to ſay: "Hail for ever, "moſt holy fleſh of Chriſt, before all things, and "above all things, my ſupreme delight. May "the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be to me, a "ſinner, the way and the life, in the name of the "Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. "Amen §." Here he takes the body, having firſt made a croſs with the body before his mouth.

* Smith's Greek Church. † Lit. Chryſoſt. ‡ Lit. Baſil.

§ *Ad corpus dicat cum humiliatione antequam percipiat.* (Rubr.)—"Ave in æternum ſanctiſſima carò Chriſti, mihi ante omnia, & "ſuper omnia, ſumma dulcedo. Corpus domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti "ſit mihi peccatori via & vita, in nomine patris, &c." *Hic ſumat corpus, cruce prius facta, ante os. Rubr.*

Then

Then with great devotion he is to ſay to the blood: "Hail for ever, heavenly drink, before "all things and above all things, to me the greateſt "ſweetneſs, (or my higheſt deſire, and ſupreme "delight.) May the body and blood of our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt be to me, a ſinner, an efficacious "and perpetual medicine to eternal life, in the "name of the Father, &c. Amen*." After which he takes the blood.

In the Unitarian, or what is called a Book of Common Prayer reformed, when the prieſt delivers the bread, he ſays: "Take, and eat this in "remembrance of Chriſt;" and when he delivers the cup, "Take, and drink this in remembrance "of Chriſt." This form of words is choſen in conformity to our Saviour's own, "Do this in "remembrance of me."

The ſentences, at the diſtribution of the elements in the preſent Scotiſh epiſcopalian church, conſiſt of the two former clauſes now uſed by us, the latter clauſes being omitted, as they were in Edward's firſt book, and Laud's Scotiſh Liturgy.—The Epiſcopalian church of America has adopted our forms.

* *Deinde ad ſanguinem cum magna devotione, dicens,* (Rubr.) "Ave "in æternum cœleſtis potus, mihi—dulcedo. Corpus, & ſanguis "D. N. J. C. poſſint (in ſome copies *proſint*) mihi peccatori ad re-"medium ſempiternum, in vitam æternam. Amen." Miſs. Sar. 1527, 1534, & 1555. & Portitor. Sar. 1555.

The ſacrament of *Baptiſm* among the Greeks is adminiſtered ſometimes in a declaratory, and ſometimes in a precatory form. The prieſt's words are, "The ſervant of God (N) is baptiſed "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and "of the Holy Ghoſt, now and for ever." At the repetition of the name of each of the three Perſons in the Trinity, the god-father anſwers, Amen.

Another very general form of baptiſm in the Greek church is, "Let the ſervant of the Lord," or, "may the ſervant of the Lord be baptiſed in "the name of the Father, and of the Son, and "of the Holy Ghoſt." Whether the form be declaratory or precatory, it is always pronounced paſſively, partly becauſe it is read paſſively in Mark xiv. 16: and partly becauſe this mode of expreſſion, which they have retained from Chryſoſtom, is thought by the Greeks to indicate more modeſty and humility than the active form employed by the weſtern church *.

The difference between the Greek and weſtern forms is trifling. In ſenſe, the declaratory active, and paſſive forms agree. It is to be lamented, that the zealots of both communions have reciprocally uſed the bittereſt invectives againſt each other, in a matter of ſo little importance as this mere variety of expreſſion ſeems to be. Eſpecially as both parties agree in the concluding words, and hold that "baptiſing in the name of the Father,

* Smith's Greek Church.

"and

" and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt," is a neceſſary and eſſential part of the ſacrament.

Our form of adminiſtering baptiſm is declaratory, and not precatory: yet it is preceded and followed by prayers and interceſſions for abſolution and regeneration. Thus in our daily ſervice likewiſe, the abſolution is preceded by the confeſſion, and followed by the Lord's prayer, the recital of which, as we have before obſerved, was, by the ancients ſuppoſed to obtain remiſſion of thoſe ſins of infirmity, into which the beſt and moſt circumſpect are daily liable to fall. It is deſerving of remark, that in our church, wherever the form is declaratory, it is always accompanied with ſupplications for pardon.

But the abſolution in the office of the holy communion is a direct prayer for pardon and forgiveneſs. " Almighty God, our heavenly father, who " of his great mercy hath promiſed forgiveneſs of " ſins to all them, which with hearty repentance " and true faith turn unto him; have mercy upon " you, pardon and deliver you from all your " ſins, confirm and ſtrengthen you in all good- " neſs, and bring you to everlaſting life, through " Jeſus Chriſt our Lord." *Amen.*

In this form, the declaratory and precatory abſolutions are happily united *. The former part conſiſts of God's merciful promiſe of pardon to true

* The precatory part is nearly the ſame with the abſolution in

true penitent believers. In the latter part, the biſhop or prieſt, in exact conformity to the ſentiments and practice of the fathers, directs addreſſes to the throne of grace, and intercedes with God for the actual pardon and abſolution of particular perſons. This miniſterial benediction and interceſſion was always conſidered as a principal act of epiſcopal and ſacerdotal power in the buſineſs of evangelical abſolution.

The following prayer, which is an ancient form of abſolution *, is ſtill uſed in the Greek church before communion. "O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our "God, who alone haſt the power of forgiving "ſins, in thy goodneſs and loving-kindneſs over-"look all the offences of thy ſervants, whether "of knowledge or ignorance, whether committed "in deed, word, or thought, for thou art the "God of mercies, able to ſhew mercy, to ſave, "and to forgive ſins."

In the oriental liturgies likewiſe, both the abſolutions in the beginning of the office, and that before the communion, are collects or prayers for pardon and ſanctification, and are often addreſſed to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt †.

the order of the maſs. We added the general declaratory words of abſolution here, as we did likewiſe in the form that may be ſaid at the viſitation of the ſick.

* It is ſaid to have been compoſed by *John of Damaſcus*, who lived in the viiith century.

† See Lit. of Basil, in Renaudot's collection, tom. 1. p. 3. & can. univers. Æthiop. Ibid. p. 505, &c. In many of theſe abſolutions, the patriarch, metropolitan, king, &c. are prayed for by name.

In

In the Romiſh church the abſolution in the ordinary of the maſs, and in the ſacrament of penance, is entirely precatory, "May God Al-"mighty have mercy upon you, forgive you your "ſins, and bring you to everlaſting life*.

The form of the abſolution of *penitents*, in the *Greek* church, is in a great meaſure left to the diſcretion of the penitentiary. The moſt common forms are, 1. "Do thou, O Lord, remit, par-"don, and forgive the ſins committed by thy "ſervants." 2. "May it pleaſe thee to abſolve "thy ſervants according to thy word." 3. "Do "thou pardon, who art our good and gracious "God." 4. "May our Lord Jeſus Chriſt par-"don all thoſe ſins which thou haſt confeſſed "before him to my meanneſs, as well as thoſe "which thou haſt forgotten." 5. "O Lord, "pardon thy ſervant, and be reconciled to him."

From this variety, of which many more inſtances might be given, it is evident that the ſentence of abſolution is pronounced only in the way of ſupplication and interceſſion. The prieſt is no more than the miniſter of this ſacred rite, and claims no perſonal or judicial power.

It ſhould not however be concealed, that even in that part of the Greek church, which acknowledges the juriſdiction of the patriarch of Con-

* Miſereatur veſtri omnipotens deus, & dimiſſis peccatis veſtris, perducat vos ad vitam æternam.

ſtantino-

ſtantinople, the clergy have ſometimes adopted forms of abſolution, different from theſe. But as they are novel, and were obtruded upon them by the artful emiſſaries of Rome, who were continually watching over the poor Greeks, and ready to take every advantage of their ignorance and diſtreſs, with a view to bring them to farther compliance, and in time to reduce them to complete ſubjection to the papal ſee, the bare mention of the circumſtance may here be ſufficient.

It were an act of injuſtice, not to obſerve, that in the annual courſe of the offices of the *Romiſh* church, a conſiderable variety of abſolutions are found, all running in the precatory form. Of their general tenor, a judgment may be formed from the following ſpecimens, which in the Breviary frequently occur. 1. "May almighty God "have mercy upon you, pardon your offences, "and bring you to everlaſting life." 2. "May "the Almighty and merciful Lord grant us par- "don, abſolution, and the remiſſion of our ſins." 3. "O Lord Jeſus Chriſt hear the prayers of thy "ſervants, and do thou who liveſt and reigneſt "with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, have "mercy upon us." 4. "May the Almighty and "merciful God looſe us from the chain of our "ſins*."

INDICA-

* Similar forms are, in the Roman Rubrics, ſtyled Abſolutions. The

Indicative Absolution.

Beſides theſe ancient forms, there is another, called the indicative, or poſitive form of abſolution, in which the prieſt, addreſſing the penitent, and ſpeaking in the firſt perſon, ſays, "I abſolve "thee." Of the uſe of this form, in the *ſenſe* in which the romaniſts contend, and ſome members of our eſtabliſhment appear to admit, that it is to be received, we have no veſtige in the earlier and purer ages of the church.

For between the abſolution of ſins committed againſt God, and the abſolution, which is merely a remiſſion of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, we muſt, if we would avoid falling into groſs errors, make the requiſite diſtinctions. The truth is, the form of which we are now ſpeaking, has not the uſage of 600 years to plead in its behalf *. Though

The abſolution in the *pontificale* likewiſe as well as in the *Miſſal*, is precatory. The poſitive indicative form is found only in the *Ritual*, and there but once; that is, in "the Sacrament of Penance."

* Yet Martenne, whoſe work in three large folio volumes, was publiſhed in 1736, refers to "four books venerable for their anti-"quity, all of them above 600 years old," in which the indicative form occurs. In particular, he ſpecifies a *pontificale* of Egbert, Biſhop of York, which, he ſays, is very neatly written in Saxon characters, and is ſtill preſerved in the library of that church. I have made ſome enquiry after this *pontificale*, but to no purpoſe: and I ſuſpect that upon cloſer inveſtigation, it will be found either that the abſolution is not drawn up in the indicative form, or that the true date of the MS. is poſterior to the time of Egbert.

Thomas

Thomas Aquin might not introduce it himſelf, yet he firſt defended it, a few years after the middle of the thirteenth century. From the writings of this author, Archbiſhop Uſher has proved the recentneſs, and nearly aſcertained the date of this innovation*. It is acknowledged by *Aquin*, that his contemporaries objected to the form, not only becauſe perſons of judgment thought the ancient form preferable, but becauſe this was a *novelty invented within the laſt thirty years* †. And, before *Uſher*, the learned *Morin*, though a ſtaunch‡ papiſt, had fully ſhewn that this is a modern fabrication; and that, during twelve centuries, abſolution was given only in a precatory form §. He likewiſe

Anſwer to the jeſuit's challenge.

† Aſſerebat enim (that is the learned Doctor againſt whom *Thomas* wrote his 22d opuſc. affirmed) vix annos 30 elapſos eſſe, cum omnes ſola forma deprecatoria uterentur. *Thomas* does not attempt to diſprove the poſition, but anſwers, "that his opponent could "not teſtify of *all*, becauſe he had not ſeen all." Morin. ſac. pœn. l. viii. c. 9. ſect. 26.

‡ Every member of the "holy catholic church," who knows "what ſpirit he is of," to whatever *ſect* he may belong, muſt grieve to find ſuch a man as Morinus, ſpeaking of two of the moſt illuſtrious inſtruments of the reformation, in the following terms—Donec humani generis hoſtis, Lutherum & Calvinum ab inferis evomeret: that is, in *coarſe* Engliſh, *Luther and Calvin were vomited out of hell, into this world, by the devil.* (De Sac. pœn. præf. ad lect.)

§ Cum autem conſtet annis mille ducentis in eccleſia occidentali abſolutionem deprecativo modo dari ſolitum, in orientali vero, in hunc uſque diem, non aliter dari, &c. De ſac. pœn. l. viii.

ſays,

ſays, that the progreſs of this new form was ſo rapid, that in the courſe of ſixty years, the uſe of the ancient form was hardly known *. *Martenne* repeats and confirms the obſervation of *Morin*, and after him remarks, that about the ſame time, the validity of precatory abſolution began to be queſtioned †. *William* of *Paris*, who flouriſhed about thirty years before *Aquin*, makes uſe of theſe remarkable words. "The prieſt to whom "confeſſion is made, does not pronounce abſo-"lution in the manner of forenſic judges. He "does not ſay, We abſolve thee: neither do we "condemn: but let the confeſſor make a *prayer* "to God, that he may grant the penitent abſo-"lution, remiſſion, and the grace of ſanctifica-"tion ‡."

In all the more ancient MS. rituals, both of the Greek and Latin churches, the form is always precatory, never indicative §.

The indicative, or poſitive form of abſolution is not however to be condemned, merely becauſe it was not known in ancient times, or from its

* Tantos denique progreſſus brevi temporis ſpatio fecit illa ſententia, ut alterius uſus in paucis provinciis ſexaginta poſt annis vix ſupereſſet. Ibid. cap. 9. ſect. 28.

† Tantos denique progreſſus——ut de deprecativæ validitate dubitari cœperit. Marten, antiq. Eccleſ. Rit. lib. 1. c. 6. artic. 5. Morin. l. viii. c. 8. ſect. 2.

‡ De Sac. pœnit. ap. Marten. ibid.

§ Marten. Ibid.

having

having been groſsly abuſed ſince it was known. When its import and meaning are duly defined and rightly underſtood, it may, on certain occaſions, be adopted with propriety and advantage.

Were diſcipline, for inſtance, reſtored to the church, (and, if it is "much to be wiſhed," it ought, certainly, to be attempted in earneſt,) this form might be uſed as a judicial act, by thoſe inveſted with the power of readmitting penitent offenders to the privilege of communion with the church. On ſuch occaſions, the uſe of it would be juſtifiable and right: and I think there are ſtrong grounds for preſuming that a form, very like it, was uſed at the readmiſſion of penitents into the primitive church *.

Again, when any man labours under great diſquietude of conſcience, and conſequent diſtreſs of mind, on account of any crime real or ſuppoſed; when he opens his grief, and confeſſes his offence to ſome learned and diſcreet miniſter of God's word, and exhibits every ſign of ſincere contrition

Audio etiam edictum eſſe propoſitum, & quidem peremptorium. Pontifex ſcilicet maximus, quod eſt, epiſcopus epiſcoporum edicit; *Ego & mœchiæ, fornicationis delicta pœnitentiæ functis dimitto.* O Edictum! Abſit, abſit a ſponſa Chriſti tale præconium, &c. (Tert. de Pudicitia, c. 1.) The power exerciſed by the biſhop, whom in this paſſage, Tertullian (now a montaniſt) upbraids in language not remarkable for its delicacy, might be ſimply a relaxation of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and the authoritative form of reſtoring penitents to church communion—See alſo Biſhop Fell's notes on Cyprian de lapſis.

and

and repentance; then "for the quieting of his "conſcience, and the removal of all ſcruple and "doubtfulneſs, the prieſt may *by the miniſtry of "God's word*, give him, together with ſpiritual "council and advice, the benefit of abſolution.*" If upon a full examination into his ſpiritual ſtate, the prieſt has every reaſon to believe him truly penitent, and as far as human judgment can go, to conclude that he ſtands abſolved by God, he may, more eſpecially if the party earneſtly deſire it, *miniſterially* pronounce the indicative form of abſolution.

The judgment of the prieſt, however, is not infallible: for a man may be deceived himſelf, and one man may deceive another. But where every viſible and proper indication of ſincere repentance and faith appear, this form is the greateſt aſſurance that a clergyman, without the aid of divine inſpiration, can give to the penitent, that his ſins are pardoned: and this, under certain circumſtances, our church has thought it right the prieſt ſhould give for the ſatisfaction of his fellow creature. To hear the "ambaſſador of God, and "the miniſter of reconciliation," in whoſe authority, as well as ſanctity, he has been accuſtomed to confide, pronounce, upon the beſt judgment he can form, pardon and peace, according to the

* It may be proper to remark, that the church neither commands, nor forbids private confeſſion and abſolution. Indeed, when "any "man cannot quiet his own conſcience, or requires farther coun-"ſel," ſhe recommends both, but does not enjoin either.

terms

terms of the Goſpel, muſt afford the greateſt conſolation, which a deſponding ſpirit can receive.

Two inſtances have been ſtated, where this poſitive abſolution is thought to be rational and admiſſible. There is a third, in which it is enjoined, that is, in "the Order for the Viſitation of the "Sick." This appointment is one of thoſe regulations, in which the prudence and humanity of our reformers, and of the reviewers of the Liturgy, are equally conſpicuous. The piety of the church would not refuſe to any of its members at the point of death, the ſatisfaction of receiving abſolution in the moſt plenary, and authoritative form. But her prudence has with equal caution reſtricted the uſe of a form, which from its very nature, is more liable than any other, to be miſtaken or abuſed.

For before this abſolution may be pronounced, the miniſter is firſt enjoined to enquire, "whether "the ſick perſon believe all the articles of the "chriſtian faith?" In order to aſcertain this, he is directed to rehearſe interrogatively all the articles of the apoſtles' creed. Upon the ſick perſon's anſwering, "all this I ſteadfaſtly believe," the miniſter is next enjoined to examine, "whether "he repent him truly of his ſins, and be in charity "with all the world *." In other words, before the miniſter may pronounce this abſolution, he is to examine whether the ſick perſon be a true pe-

* Rubric before the abſolution in the viſitation office.

nitent,

nitent, and ſincere believer; that is, whether he be entitled to pardon by God, "who pardoneth "and abſolveth all them that truly repent, and "unfeignedly believe his holy goſpel."

The form itſelf, which was in ſome degree new modelled and improved at the reformation, is as guarded as any indicative form can be. It is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, nothing more than the precatory and declaratory forms united, and applied to a particular caſe. The introductory part is addreſſed to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and beſeeches him of his great mercy to forgive the ſick perſon his offences. This part likewiſe declares, that "our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt has left to his church, power "to abſolve thoſe who truly repent, and believe "in him:" The form proceeds, "and by his au- "thority committed to me, I abſolve thee from "all thy ſins in the name of the Father, and of "the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Amen."

Now, ſince this very form declares that remiſſion is granted only to the true penitent believer, that is, to him alone whom God has already pardoned and abſolved, and who cannot therefore need abſolution from the hands of man, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that "the power to abſolve, left by Chriſt "to the church *, and by his authority committed "to the prieſt," is purely miniſterial, or as our

* The words, "who hath left power to his church to abſolve all "ſinners who truly repent, and believe in him," were inſerted by our reformers. The reſt of the form they copied with little variation from the Roman *Ritual*.

church elſewhere expreſſes it, "the power and "commandment given by God to his miniſters to "declare and pronounce to his people being peni-"tent, the abſolution and remiſſion of their ſins."

This is the doctrine that was taught to our fore-fathers at the dawn of the reformation. "Which "words," (the words of abſolution,) "being "ſpoken by the prieſt on earth, he (the receiver) "ought to believe they ſhall be ratified in heaven; "and that *he is already pardoned* for the merits of "Chriſt's paſſion *."

If this be not the doctrine of the eſtabliſhed church, we may aſk, what other meaning can ſhe have? and we muſt, I fear, be compelled to admit the preſumption, that the Liturgy in doctrinal points, is not always perfectly conſiſtent with itſelf. But if this be the meaning of our church, then her ſentiments on indicative abſolution, coincide with thoſe of the moſt eminent divines of the age, in which this form was introduced †.

It

* Inſtitution of a chriſtian man.

† Though the form in queſtion is now, and has been for ſome ages, commonly called the *indicative* form, yet it has likewiſe, and with ſtricter regard to propriety, been called a *middle*, or a *mixed* form. The purely indicative is, "I abſolve," &c. without any precatory words, either prefixed, or annexed. The precatory form alone was uſed for the firſt twelve centuries. About 1225, or 1230, the ſimply *indicative* was introduced. But it would appear that the adoption of it alone, ſeemed to the more moderate and learned, a haſty and improper deviation from primitive and univerſal practice, into an oppoſite extreme. They, therefore, united the two forms.

It was firſt uſed by a few, and only by a few, about the year 1230*. In this very year flouriſhed *Alexander* of *Hales*†, who, on account of his profound knowledge of ſcholaſtic theology and civil law, was ſtyled the *irrefragable doctor*. He obſerves that "in this form, prayer precedes in "the optative, or precatory mode, and the ab-"ſolution is ſubjoined in the indicative. Prayer "obtains pardon, and abſolution *preſuppoſes* par-"don: for the prieſt would abſolve none, who, "he did not believe, had been abſolved by "God‡."

John Bonaventure §, who flouriſhed 25 years later, and at a period when the uſe of this form was become much more general, ſo far approves of the preceding expoſition, that when he comes to explain the meaning of the form, he expreſſes himſelf in the very words of *Alexander*. *Thomas*

Of this middle, or mixed form, *Hales*, *Bonaventure*, and *Aquin* ſpeak in the paſſages that follow, where either their opinion, or evidence, is referred to, or cited.

* Morin. de Sac. pœnit. lib. viii. c. 9. p. 537.

† He was an Engliſhman, born at Hales in Glouceſterſhire, and Doctor of Divinity at Paris, then the ſeat of theological learning, and frequented by ſtudents from every part of Europe.

‡ In formâ abſolutionis præmittitur oratio per modum deprecativum, & ſubjungitur abſolutio per modum indicativum. Et deprecatio gratiam impetrat, & abſolutio gratiam ſupponit. Nunquam enim Sacerdos abſolveret quenquam, de quo non præſumeret quod eſſet abſolutus a Deo. (Alex. Hal. ap. Morin. p. 538.)

§ He was profeſſor of theology in the univerſity at Paris, and called the *ſeraphic doctor*.

Aquin * himſelf, teſtifies that the ſame ſentiments were embraced at Paris by the learned in general; and it is probable that the doctor †, who oppoſed the innovation defended by Aquin, held the ſame opinion with Hales, Bonaventure, and the Pariſian divines. Though he diſliked the introduction of the indicative form, yet it is certain he did not diſapprove their expoſition of it. ‡

That the Church of England does not conceive any perſonal or judicial power to attach to the miniſter in granting abſolution, is plain from the introductory part of the form, which is precatory, and acknowledges our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be the perſon by whom abſolution is virtually conveyed. § Had the church fancied, either that any real efficacy accompanied the prieſt's pronouncing the indicative abſolution, or that ſacerdotal abſolution was eſſentially neceſſary to the forgiveneſs of ſins §, ſhe would here have poſi-

* Aquin, ſtyled alſo the *angelic doctor*, flouriſhed in 1255. He and Bonaventure were admitted to the degree of D. D. in the Univerſity of Paris on the ſame day. Cave's hiſt. lit.

† His name is not known.

‡ St. Thom. opuſc. 22. cap. 2. 3. ap. Morin.

§ Much leſs does our church admit the poſitions, reſpecting abſolution, laid down by the good fathers aſſembled at the council of Trent. One of their canons ſays, ſi quis dixerit abſolutionem ſacerdotis non eſſe actum *judicialem*, ſed nudum miniſterium pronunciandi, & declarandi, remiſſa eſſe peccata confitenti; *anathema ſit.*—For a very valuable account of this moſt ſingular eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, ſee appendix to the Rev. Dr. A. Geddes's learned and ſpirited letter to three Vicars apoſtolic.

tively enjoined the uſe of this, or of ſome other form. But what are the words of the rubric? "Here ſhall the ſick perſon be moved to make "a ſpecial confeſſion of his ſins, if he feel his "conſcience troubled with any weighty matter. "After which confeſſion, the prieſt ſhall abſolve "him, *if he humbly and heartily deſire it**, after "this ſort." But on the ſuppoſal that the ſick perſon does *not* feel his conſcience troubled with any weighty matter, the prieſt is *not* directed to move him to make any *ſpecial confeſſion*. If the ſick perſon makes no ſpecial confeſſion, or after a ſpecial confeſſion, does not humbly and heartily deſire abſolution: if he is ſatisfied of the ſincerity of his own repentance, and requires no aſſurance from the prieſt, that he is forgiven by God, then the prieſt is *not* authoriſed to pronounce this abſolution †. By leaving it to the option of the ſick man, the church has left us a proof, which to me appears deciſive, that in her judgment, whoever performs the conditions of the covenant of grace, ſhall be ſaved without ſacerdotal abſolution; and that he who does not repent, and believe the goſpel, cannot be eſſentially benefited by any abſolution pronounced by a prieſt.

* Theſe words in italic were added in 1662.

† Biſhop Bull requeſted the clergyman, who prayed with him in his laſt illneſs, to repeat the abſolution in the communion ſervice. This form is adopted in the viſitation office of the epiſcopalian church of America.

Power of Absolution granted to Ministers at Ordination.

We have ſeen the ſentiments of the church of England, reſpecting abſolution, as they are deducible from the different modes in which it is appointed to be adminiſtered. Let us now advert to the official form, by which the power of abſolution is conveyed to the clergy in the ordination and conſecration of prieſts and biſhops. From this point of view, we may perhaps obtain a more diſtinct knowledge of the ſubject; for whatever be the nature and extent of the power exerciſed by the clergy, it will naturally be ſpecified when it is conferred, and muſt be according to the limits of the original grant.

At the laying on of hands the biſhop ſays "receive the Holy Ghoſt for the office and work of "a biſhop (or prieſt) in the church of God." The ordinary gifts of the Spirit are as neceſſary for the execution of the office of a biſhop, or prieſt, as the extraordinary gifts were for the performance of the office of an apoſtle. We therefore very properly adopt a part of the form made uſe of by our Lord. But we underſtand the words in an inferior, and more limited ſenſe. The biſhop does not ſay "as my father ſent me, ſo ſend I "you."—He does not ſay abſolutely "receive the Holy Ghoſt," but receive it for "the office in which you are appointed to "ſerve." From this limitation it is obvious,

that

that a more indefinite and extenſive power was committed by our Saviour to the apoſtles, than is given at ordination to the clergy of the church of England. The extent of the powers of a biſhop, or a prieſt, muſt be determined ſolely by the rules and duties of their reſpective offices, as expreſſed in the written word of God, and interpreted by the order of the church, which appoints them to their office.

The ſame obſervation may be applied to the other part of the form. "Whoſe ſins thou doſt "forgive, they are forgiven: and whoſe ſins thou "doſt retain they are retained." When theſe words were ſpoken by our Lord to his apoſtles, they had been endowed with extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, and we know that they were, after the more copious effuſion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecoſt, enabled, in ſome caſes at leaſt, to diſcern the thoughts and intentions of the heart. They were, conſequently, not liable to be impoſed upon, either by the miſrepreſentations of ignorance, or the frauds of hypocriſy and diſſimulation.

They might therefore be ſaid to have a power of remitting ſins judicially, that is, by the Holy Spirit dwelling in them *. But no ſuch power can be inveſted in their ſucceſſors of theſe latter

* They had *the diſcernment of ſpirits*, 1 Cor. xii. 10. and could *judge* with certainty, 1 Cor. xiv. 29, when perſons were penitent, and conſequently forgiven, and when not, Acts viii. 21, 23.—On the meaning of the words employed in the act of *ordination*, I ſhould recommend a deliberate conſultation of *inſtructions given to candidates for orders* by Abp. Secker.

ages, to whom the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit are not communicated.

The power then of remitting, or retaining ſins, might be given to the apoſtles, in the moſt plenary and literal ſenſe in which the words of our Saviour can be underſtood; becauſe the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit enabled them to diſcharge, with infallible rectitude, ſo important a commiſſion. But to prevent the miſconception of a paſſage of ſome difficulty, our church has expreſsly limited, and has defined the limitation of the power inveſted in the prieſt. For to the words of the original form, ſhe has added, "And be thou a "faithful diſpenſer of the word of God, and of "his Holy Sacraments, in the name of the Fa-"ther, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt."

That *word*, which the prieſt is commiſſioned to diſpenſe faithfully, contains the terms and conditions on which "ſins are remitted and retained." And of the two ſacraments, which he is likewiſe bound faithfully to diſpenſe, the former was ordained for the expreſs purpoſe of procuring the "remiſſion of ſins," and the latter was inſtituted in remembrance of him, whoſe body was given "and "whoſe blood was ſhed for the remiſſion of ſins."

What are we then to underſtand by the words, "whoſe ſins thou doſt forgive, they are forgiven, "and whoſe ſins thou doſt retain, they are re-"tained?" They mean that the miniſter ſhall, to the utmoſt of his power, inſtruct the people out of the Holy Scriptures: that in particular he

ſhall faithfully declare to them, the terms on which the forgiveneſs of ſins is promiſed, and the retention of ſins threatened, in the Goſpel of Chriſt: that he ſhall explain the qualifications requiſite on our part, that we may receive in the ſacrament of baptiſm, "remiſſion of ſins;" and in the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, may be worthy partakers of the body and blood, given and ſhed "for the remiſſion of ſins:" And that beſides the diſcharge of his duty in diſpenſing *the abſolution of word* and *of prayer*, he ſhall practically, and with due ſolemnity adminiſter the ſacraments which are the means appointed by Chriſt for obtaining the "remiſſion of ſins." By this due diſcharge of his official duty, the miniſter of the Goſpel may in a modified ſenſe of the words, and certainly with no greater latitude of expreſſion than is found in other parts of Scripture*, be ſaid to have the power of remitting and retaining ſins.

But whatever the diſciples of the old *nonjurors* may think, or affirm, the church of England nei-

A ſimilar form of language is uſed in the Old Teſtament in conferring the prophetic function. "See (ſaith the Lord to Jeremiah) "I have this day ſet thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, "to root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw "down, to build, and to plant." (ch. i. ver. 10.) Agreeably to the terms of the commiſſion the prophet is, in other parts of the book, addreſſed by the Almighty as exerciſing a ſovereign power of inflicting judgments upon kingdoms and nations. Ch. xv. 1. and xxv. 15, &c. Compare alſo, third head, *Declaratory Abſolution*, p. 34[illegible] to p. 350.

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ther maintains nor countenances the opinion, that a prieſt, by virtue of his ordination, has an abſolute unconditional power to forgive ſins. The power that the clergy have received and exerciſe, is purely miniſterial, being defined and limited by the written word of God, which expreſsly declares upon what conditions ſins ſhall be remitted, and upon what, retained. To ſuppoſe, that any miniſter of the Goſpel ſince the Apoſtles, poſſeſſes the power of remitting or retaining ſins at his diſcretion, is repugnant to the whole tenor of Scripture, as well as to every dictate of reaſon and common ſenſe. What would be the conſequence, if a prieſt might, as Bellarmine and others contend, "immediately, actively, and inſtrumentally, effect "by his abſolution the grace of juſtification?" Having nothing to depend upon but human judgment, which is liable to a thouſand errors and miſconceptions, he might adminiſter abſolution to a ſinner, whom God would condemn, and refuſe abſolution to him, whom God would forgive. He might "ſlay the ſouls that ſhould "not die, and keep alive the ſouls that ſhould "not live, *" This were to pollute "the Lord "among his people, by lying to the people, who "believe the lies of thoſe that propheſy out of "their own heart †." The claim to ſuch a power is in the higheſt degree preſumptuous and abſurd. It ſuppoſes the ſentence of Omniſcience to be

* Ezek. xii. † Id. ibid.

bound,

bound by the decision of a fallible creature, the justice of God to be administered by the wisdom of man.

With great reason therefore we condemn the decrees of Popes and Councils, which either affect to retain the sins of those whom they are pleased to pronounce *heretics* or pretend indiscriminately to grant plenary absolution to the exterminators of protestants. And we reject with abhorrence, the position, that a mortal man has a *judicial* power of pardoning and absolving, knowing that "to forgive iniquity, transgression, and "sin, and by no means to clear the guilty, is the "Glory of the LORD *;" and assured, that his "Glory he will not give to another †."

I cannot better conclude this account of Absolution than with the words of Jerom, whose reasoning on the subject is followed by *the master of the sentences*, by *Scotus*, and by many of the more celebrated *scholastic* divines. What will weigh more with the members of our communion, its spirit is adopted in the Book of Homilies ‡.

"Bishops and priests," says Jerom §, "not understanding

* Exod. xxxiii. and xxxiv. † Isa. xlii. 8.

‡ Homily on Repentance, p. 2.

§ Istum locum Episcopi & Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur: cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis

" derſtanding that paſſage, (Matt. xvi. 19. where " our Saviour ſays to Peter, *whatever thou ſhalt* " *bind*, &c.) arrogate to themſelves a kind of " phariſaical ſuperciliouſneſs, ſo that they con- " demn the innocent and fancy they abſolve the " guilty. Whereas, before the tribunal of God, " the inquiry is, not what may be the ſentence of " prieſts, but what has been the life of thoſe that " are to be judged. Concerning lepers we read " in Leviticus, where they are commanded to " ſhew themſelves to the prieſt, *and if they have* " *a leproſy, then let them be made by the prieſt un-* " *clean.* Not that the prieſts may make them " leprous and unclean, but becauſe they have " knowledge to perceive, who is leprous, and

proſis, ubi jubentur ut oſtendant ſe ſacerdotibus, & ſi lepram habuerint, tunc a ſacerdote immundi fiant: non quo ſacerdotes leproſos faciant & immundos, ſed quo habeant notitiam leproſi & non leproſi, & poſſint diſcernere qui mundus, quive immundus ſit. Quomodo ergo ibi leproſum Sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit, ſic & hic alligat vel ſolvit Epiſcopus & Preſbyter, non eos qui inſontes ſunt vel noxii: ſed pro officio ſuo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, ſcit qui ligandus ſit, quive ſolvendus. Hieron. in Matt. xvi. 19. Ed. Benedict. Tom. IV.——The prieſt is ſaid to *make clean*, or to *make unclean*, when he *pronounces* the perſon to be clean or unclean. Thus in our Engliſh tranſlation, the prieſt ſhall *pronounce* him utterly unclean; literally, polluting the prieſt ſhall pollute him, in the words of Jerom *contaminatione contaminabit*, with pollution ſhall he pollute him. Not, ſays Jerom, that the prieſt is the author of the uncleanneſs, but he ſhews and pronounces him to be unclean, who before, to moſt appeared to be clean.——Non quo contaminationis auctor ſit, ſed quo oſtendat eum contaminatum, qui prius mundus plurimis videbatur.

" who is not leprous, and can diſcern who is
" clean, and who is unclean. As then there (that
" is, by the levitical law,) the prieſt makes the
" leprous clean, or unclean: ſo here (that is,
" under the Goſpel diſpenſation,) the biſhop, and
" prieſt does not bind, or looſe the innocent, or
" guilty: but according to his office, when he
" has examined their different offences, he knows
" who is to be bound, and who is to be looſed."

Peter Lombard cites, though imperfectly, this paſſage of Jerom, and adds, " it is here plainly
" ſhewn that God does not always follow the
" judgment of the church, which ſometimes
" judges through ſurreption and ignorance;
" whereas God always judges according to truth.
" Both in remitting and retaining ſins, the prieſts
" of the Goſpel have the ſame power and office,
" that formerly under the law the legal prieſts,
" had in healing lepers. They therefore remit
" or retain ſins, whilſt they declare and ſhew
" that they are remitted, or retained by God *."

* Hic aperte oſtenditur, quod non ſemper Deus ſequitur Eccleſiæ judicium, quæ per ſurreptionem & ignorantiam interdum judicat: Deus autem ſemper judicat ſecundum veritatem. Et in remittendis vel retinendis culpis id juris & officii habent evangelici ſacerdotes, quod olim habebant legales ſub lege in curandis leproſis. Hi ergo peccata dimittunt vel retinent, dum dimiſſa a Deo, vel retenta, indicant, (*judicant* is ſometimes read) & oſtendunt. Sentent. l. iv. Diſt. 18.

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